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THE NAVY SURGEON: Or, *A Practical System of Surgery*. Illustrated with Observations on such remarkable Cases as have occurred to the Author's Practice in the *Royal Navy*. To which is added, A Treatise on the *Venereal Disease*, the Causes, Symptoms, and Method of Cure by *Mercury*: An Enquiry into the Origin of that Distemper; in which the Dispute between Dr. *Dover*, and Dr. *Turner*, concerning *Crude Mercury*, is fully consider'd; with Useful Remarks thereon. Also an *Appendix*, containing *Physical Observations* on the Heat, Moisture, and Density of the Air on the Coast of *Guinea*; the Colour of the Natives; the Sickneses which they and the *Europeans* trading thither are subject to; with a Method of Cure. By JOHN ATKINS, *Surgeon*.

Printed for WARD and CHANDLER, at the *Ship*, between the *Temple-Gates* in *Fleet-Street*; and Sold at their Shop in *SCARBOROUGH*.

A VOYAGE

TO
*Guinea, Brasil, and the
West-Indies;*

In His Majesty's Ships, the SWALLOW
and WEYMOUTH.

Describing the several Islands and Settlements, viz-
*Madeira, the Canaries, Cape de Verd, Sierraleon, Sesthos,
Cape Apollonia, Cabo Corfó, and others on the Guinea Coast;
Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c. in the West-Indies.*

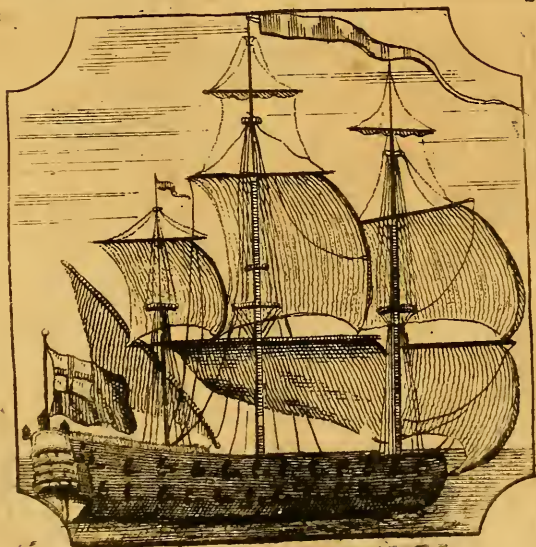
The Colour, Diet, Languages, Habits, Manners, Customs,
and Religions of the respective Natives, and Inhabitants.

With Remarks on the GOLD, IVORY, and SLAVE-TRADE;
and on the Winds, Tides and Currents of the several Coasts.

By *JOHN ATKINS,*
Surgeon in the ROYAL NAVY.

*Ille Robur & Æs triplex
Circa Pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit Pelago Ratem
Primus*

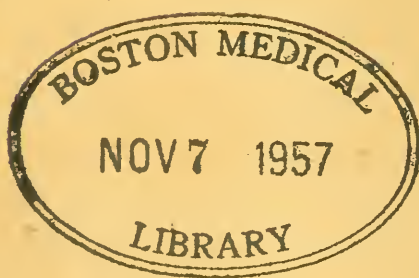
HORAT.



L O N D O N;

Printed for CÆSAR WARD and RICHARD CHANDLER, at the
*Ship, between the Temple-Gates in Fleet-Street; And Sold at their
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1, Feb. 485,





P R E F A C E.

TH E Publishing of this Voyage, is from a Supposition that it contains something useful to those following in the same Track, and that it will be no unprofitable Amusement to others who do not. I shall therefore wave all Apology, and instead, proceed to a Reflection or two, on the Life and Element we occupy.

And *first*, The Man whose Means of Subsistence irreversibly depends on the Sea, is unhappy because he forsakes his proper Element, his Wife, Children, Country, and Friends, all that can be called pleasant

a

fant (and of Necessity, not Choice) to tempt unknown Dangers, on that deceitful, trackless Path; Lee Shores, Tempests, Wants of some kind or other, bad Winds, or the rougher Passions of our selves, are continually molesting; and if common Danger under one adopted Parent (*Neptune*) does not always unite us, yet we are still coop'd like Fowls, to the same Diet and Associates.

“ *Till chang'd at length and to the
Place conform'd*

“ *In Temper and in Nature we re-
ceive*

“ *Familiar the fierce Heat.*

Milton. B. II.

Tophet * *with Stink of Suffolk Va-
porous*

* Put metaphorically for a Ship's Cockpit; and answers to the dark Cellaring of a House.

*Obscures the Glim; that visive and
olfactive Nerves
In us feel dreadful Change.*

And to compleat our ill Luck,
while we are thus contending with
finister Fate, the Rogues at home
perhaps are stealing away the Hearts
of our Mistresses and Wives. Are
not these a hapless Race thus
doomed!

A Sea-Life absolutely considered,
had so much of Hardship and Dan-
ger, that in King *John's* Time a na-
tional Synod ordained, *no married
Persons should go beyond Sea without
publishing their mutual Consent;*
which, I apprehend, proceeded from
this Foundation: *That it should not
be in the power of one to thrust him-
self on Difficulties and Hazard, that
would make the other equally un-
happy.* The Saxons before, made
a Law, that if a Merchant crossed
the wide Sea three times, he should

be honoured with the Title of *Thane*, (*Rapin*, p. 15.) and the Monarchs of the East shew their Approbation, by still leaving the rough Dominion of it to Christians. There are Circumstances notwithstanding, which may abate the Infelicity, and give real Pleasure: Such chiefly in the Navy, are a Defence of one's Country, a Livelihood, being better manned and provided against Dangers than Trading Ships; Good-natur'd Officers, a mutual good Treatment, seeing the Wonders of the Deep, and at last, maimed or decrepid, a Retreat to Superannuation, or that noble Foundation of *Greenwich-Hospital*; to which of late Years must be added, the Satisfaction Officers receive from that generous Contribution for supporting their Widows, and consequently the Children they may leave behind them.

This

P R E F A C E.

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This charitable Project is governed by the following Articles, established by His present Majesty.

I.

That Widows of Commission and Warrant Officers of the Royal Navy, shall be reputed proper Objects of the Charity, whose Annual Incomes arising from their Real and Personal Estates, or otherwise, do not amount to the following Sums, viz.

	<i>l. s. d.</i>
<i>The Widow of a Captain } or Commander,</i>	45 0 0
<i>The Widow of a Lieu- } tenant or Master,</i>	30 0 0
<i>The Widow of a Boat- } swain, Gunner, Car- } penter, Purser, Sur- } geon, Second Master of } a Yacht, or Master of a } Naval Vessel warran- } ted by the Navy Board,</i>	20 0 0

And that where any such Widow is possessed of, or interested in any Sum of Money, the Annual Income and Produce thereof, shall be computed and deemed, as annually yielding Three Pounds per Centum, and no more.

II.

That to avoid Partiality and Favour in the Distribution of the Charity, Widows of Officers of the same Rank shall have an equal Allowance, the Proportion of which shall be fixed Annually by the Court of Assistants, according to their Discretion; and that in order thereunto, the said Court may distribute Annually such Part of the Monies, arising by the said Charity, among the Widows, as they think proper; and to lay out such other Part thereof in South-Sea Annuities, or other Government Securities, as to them shall seem meet,
for

P R E F A C E.

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for raising a Capital Stock for the general Benefit of the Charity, where the Application is not particularly directed by the Donors.

III.

That in the Distribution of Allowances to poor Widows, the same be proportionate to one another, with respect to the Sum each is to receive, according to the following Division, viz.

The Widow of a Captain or Commander shall receive a Sum One Third more than the Widow of a Lieutenant or Master.

The Widow of a Lieutenant or Master shall receive a Sum One Third more than the Widow of a Boatswain, Gunner, Carpenter, Purser, Surgeon, Second Master of a Yacht, or Master of a Naval Vessel Warranted by the Navy Board.

IV.

That Widows admitted to an Annual Allowance from the Charity, shall begin to enjoy it from the First Day of the Month following the Decease of their Husbands, provided they apply within Twelve Months for the same; otherwise, from the Time of their Application.

V.

That if any Widow, admitted to the Charity, marries again, her Allowance from thenceforth shall cease.

VI.

*That in order to prevent Abuses, no Widow shall be admitted to the Benefit of the Charity, who has not been married for the Space of Twelve Months to the Officer by whose Right
she*

she claims the same, unless the said Officer was killed or drowned in the Sea Service. And if any Officer marries after the Age of Seventy Years, his Widow shall be deemed unqualified to receive the Charity.

VII.

That if the Widow of an Officer lives in the Neighbourhood of any of His Majesty's Dock-Yards, the Commissioner of the Navy residing there, and some of the Principal Officers of the Yard, or the said Officers of the Yard, where there is no Commissioner, shall inform themselves thoroughly of the Circumstances of the Deceased; and being satisfied that the Widow comes within the Rules of the Charity, shall sign and give her the following Certificate gratis, viz.

These are to certify the Court of
Af-

Assistants for managing the Charity for Relief of Poor Widows of Commission and Warrant Officers of the Royal Navy, That *A. B.* died on the _____ and has left the Bearer *C. B.* a Widow; and according to the best Information we can get from others, and do really believe ourselves, is not possessed of a clear annual Income to the Value of _____ and therefore she appears to us to be entituled to the Benefit of the said Charity under their Direction.

Besides which, the Widow is to make Affidavit, that her Annual Income is not better than is expressed in the said Certificate, and that she was legally married (naming the Time when, and the Place where) to the Officer, in whose Right she claims the Benefit of the Charity.

VIII.

That if the Widow resides in any other Part of his Majesty's Dominions, a Certificate of the like Nature is to be signed by the Minister of the Parish, a Justice of the Peace, and two or more Officers of the Navy, who are best acquainted with her Circumstances; and she is to make such Affidavit as is before mentioned.

IX.

That all Widows applying for the Benefit of the Charity, are to make Affidavit, that they are unmarried.

X.

That Widows admitted to the Charity shall once in every Year, at the Time that shall be appointed, bring

bring to the Court of Assistants their Affidavits, containing a particular State of their Circumstances, and that they continue unmarried.

XI.

That Widows of Masters and Surgeons are to apply to the Navy Office, and receive from thence a Certificate of the Quality of their Husbands in the Navy, which shall be given them Gratis, before they apply to the Court of Assistants, to be admitted to the Charity.

XII.

That no Officer or Servant employed in the Business or Service of this Charity, shall receive any Salary, Reward, or other Gratuity, for his Pains or Service in the Affairs of the said Charity, but that
the

the whole Business thereof shall be transacted Gratis.

Secondly, Of the different Seas we traverse.

The *Mediterranean*, from the Climate, Fertility, and Beauty of the Countries bordering on it, claims the Preference, I think, of all Seas; and recompenses more largely the Fatigues of a Voyage. What is peculiar, and makes them more than others pleasant, is, *First*, the Temperature of their Air, neither too hot nor cold, but a pleasant Mediocrity, that is, Spring or Summer all the Year. *Secondly*, Being of a moderate Compass: A Man by a little conversing with Maps, fixes an Idea of his Distances, his Stages from Place to Place, and may measure them over in his Head with the same Facility he would a Journey from *London* to *York*. *Thirdly*, Thus acquainted with the daily Progress,

gress, our Approaches please in a Proportion to the Danger and Wants we go from, and the Remedy and Port we go to. *Leghorn, Genoa, Naples, &c.* have their different Beauties. *Fourthly*, The confining Lands on the *European* and *African* Side being mountainous, and the Sea interspersed with Islands, gives these Priorities to main Oceans, *viz.* that you cannot be long out of sight of some Land or other, and those flowing with Milk and Honey, no ordinary Comfort, excepting when they are *Lee* Shores. *Secondly*, If the Hills be to Windward, they take off the Force of strong Winds, and make a smooth Sea. And *thirdly*, The same Hills to *Lee-ward*, do by their Height give a Check to Storms; the Air stagnating by their Interposition, I have observed frequently in shore, to become a gentle Gale.

Lastly,

Lastly, The greatest Pleasure of those Seas, is visiting Towns and Countrys that have been worthy History ; the most famous do somewhere or other border there, and have given birth to the greatest Men and greatest Actions. *Greece*, that was the Mother of Arts and Sciences, the Oracle of the World, that brought forth a *Homer*, *Socrates*, *Alexander*, &c. and was one of the four great Empires, stands to those Seas (though changed now to *European Turkey*, by a Progress as wonderful) so does *Italy*, the Seat of the last universal Empire. That *Rome*, which subjected almost all the Kings and Kingdoms of the known World, gave *Britain* Laws, and left every where eternal Monuments of their Power and Magnificence : Here lived *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Cæsar* - - - Hither some say *St. Paul* made his Voyage, having coasted along *Crete*, and suffered Shipwreck at *Malta*,
Islands

Islands famous here, the one being the Birth-place of *Jupiter*, the other for a renowned Order of Knights, the professed Defenders of Christianity against the *Turk*.

Volcanos, Catacombs, Triumphal Arches, and Pillars, Baths, Aqueducts, and Amphitheatres, are peculiar Curiosities of *Italy*. There is scarcely a Spot in that delicious Country, but is recorded for some remarkable Occurrence; is memorable for High-ways, Grottos, Lakes, Statues, Monuments, some Victory gained, or Battle lost, the Birth or Death of *Cæsar* or his Friends. On the *African* Side, stands or did stand, *Carthage*, *Troy*, *Tyre*, *Nice*, *Ephe-sus*, *Antioch*, *Smyrna*; and on that shore was once Christianity firmly planted (no less than 300 Bishops being expelled thence;) but alas how all things change! neither Greatness nor Virtue can exempt from
Mor-

Mortality : Towns, Countries, and Religions, have their Periods.

Thebes, Nineveh, &c. are now no more.

*Oppida posse mori,
Si quæras Helicen & Burin, A-
chaidas Urbes,
Invenies sub Aquis.*

They have a determined Time to flourish, decay, and die in. Corn grows where *Troy* stood: *Carthage* is blotted out. *Greece* and her Republicks (*Athens, Sparta, Corinth,*) with other fam'd *Asian* and *African* Cities the *Turkish* Monarchy has overturned. Their Magnificence, Wealth, Learning, and Worship, is changed into Poverty and Ignorance; and *Rome*, the Mother of all, overrun with Superstition. Who, on the one hand, but feels an inexpressible Pleasure intreading over that Ground, he supposes such Men inhabited,

b

whose

whose Learning and Virtues have been the Emulation of all succeeding Ages? And who again but must mourn such a melancholly Transposition of the Scene, and spend a few funeral Reflections over such extraordinary *Exequiæ*: Perhaps the Revolution of as many Ages, as has sunk their Glory, may raise it again, or carry it to the *Negroes* and *Hottentots*, and the present Possessors be debased.

The next pleasant Sailing to the *Mediterranean*, is that part of the *Atlantick*, Southern, Pacifick, South, or *Indian* Seas, that are within the Limits of a *Trade-Wind*; because such Winds are next to invariable, of such moderate Strength as not to raise heavy Seas, or strain a Ship; no Storms at Distance from Land; and equal Days and Nights.

The *Atlantick* and Southern Ocean, without the Limits of this *Trade-Wind*, that is, from 30 to 60°.

60° of Latitude, are far the worst for Navigation ; wide, rough, and boisterous Seas, more subject to Clouds, Storm, and Tempest, variable Weather; long, dark, cold Nights, and less delightful Countries and Climates out of *Europe*.

Lastly, Beyond 60 Degrees of Latitude we have little Commerce, and the Seas less frequented ; the Countries growing more and more inhospitable, as Latitude and Cold increases towards the Pole ; however, Men who have used *Greenland*, tell me, those inclement Skies contain no other Vapors, than Mist, Sleet, and Snow ; the Sea less ruffled with Winds, which blow for the most part Northerly, towards the Sun, *i. e.* towards a more rarified Air, seen in those Drifts of Ice from thence, that are found far to the Southward, both on the *European* and *American* side. Another Advantage to cheer the Winter's Melancholy

b 2

lancholy of Northern Regions, is the Moon's shining a Length proportioned to the Absence of the Sun; so that where he is entirely lost, she * never sets, but with reflected and resplendent Light on Ice and Snow, keeps up their Consolation.

In all Seas are met numerous Incidents and Appearances, worthy our Reflection. I have therefore gone on to Observations more instructive and amusing. If the Solutions are not every where Standard, they may strike out Hints to better Capacities; among those, I can perceive *two* more liable to Objection.

First, The Pythagorean Soliloquy I set out with (p. 18.) which may

* At the Changes of the Moon. appears a Pillar of Fire in the North, which darting its Rays every way, moves from Place to Place, enlightning not only *Greenland*, but *Iceland* and *Norway*; and sometimes further, till the returning Sun obscures it. (*Harris*, p. 635. Vol. II.)

be deemed too foreign for the Subject : To which I answer ——— A Voyage to Sea is a Type of that dark and unknown one we are to make in Death: Wherefore it is not unnatural with a *Departure from the Land's End of England, shooting into an Abyss of Waters*, to consider a little on that Life, which lost is a *Departure from the World's End*, and to launch into a greater *Abyss*, Eternity ;—The Principle, *in what is material of us*, I think, highly consonant to Reason, and continues still the Doctrine of the Eastern Sages.

Diversæ autem corpora formæ non sunt nisi diversæ modificationes ejusdem materiæ, &c.

(Keil de legibus naturæ.)

E. G. Vapors condensed to Rain, we see descend on Earth ; and both enter and pass into the Seeds and

Forms of all Plants. From them, either taken alone, or amassed in animal Food, is what constitutes and repairs by a daily Eating, our own Bodies ; which if there be any Trust to Sense or Reason, moulds, decays, and turns again to Dust and Air, in order for Regeneration.

What only can destroy this Philosophy (as I observe at that place) and maintain a Resurrection of the *same* Body, is Revelation, and the Immortality of the Soul ; for Sameness, or Identity then, will not consist in the same individual Particles being united, that makes our Bodies here, (which we are sure are continually fluctuating, and changing while we live ;) but on that Consciousness which the immaterial Part will give, though joined to Matter, taken from the Top of *Olympus*.

Secondly, The Denial of *Canibals* against the Authority of *grave* Authors,

thors, has proceeded from a Persuasion, that the Charge carries the highest Reproach on Humanity, and the Creator of it. My Aim, therefore, was to shew in the best manner I could, that the Accusation every where has probably proceeded from *Fear* in some, to magnify the Miracle of escaping an inhospitable and strange Country, and from *Design* in others, to justify Dispossession, and arm Colonies with Union and Courage against the *supposed Enemies of Mankind*. Conquest and Cruelty, by that means go on with pleasure on the People's side, who are persuaded they are only subduing of brutish Nature, and exchanging, for their mutual Good, SPIRITUAL for TEMPORAL INHERITANCES. By particular and private Men, this may have been fixed on a People, to allay some base or villainous Actions of their own, that could not any other way be excused, or bear the Light:
And

And for this, I appeal to the discerning part of our Traders, acquainted with *Guinea*, whether they do not think the Reports of Cape *St. Mary's* Inhabitants, Cape *Mont*, *Montzerado*, *Drewin*, and *Callabar*, down-right Falsities, and impolitick ones; for the multiplying of Places, like Plots, in a great measure destroys the Use of them.

At the *Caribbees* again, it is full as preposterous; for on small Islands, had their Women bred like Rabbits, they must have been desolated Ages before the *Europeans* Arrival; unless we can suppose human Flesh was eat only on their Feast-Days; or that they just commenced Monsters upon our Discovery.——*La Hontan*, or some other *French* Translation I have read, talking of *Canibals* bordering on *Canada*, flies into a strange *Gallicism*, and makes them commend the Flesh of a *Frenchman*
(sad

(sad Partiality) in Eating, as of finer Taste than that of an *Englishman*.

These, with *Europeans* neglecting to charge the *East-Indians* thus, who have more Power than simple *Americans* or *Negroes* to resent the Indignity and Reproach, makes me disbelieve the whole of what I have hitherto heard; and that the true *Anthropophagi* are only the diverse Insects infesting us in diverse Countries; the *Pediculose* Kind do not live in hot Climates; instead thereof, they are assaulted with a ravenous Fly called *Muskito*; Legions that live wild in the Woods, and seize with every Opportunity, human Flesh, like Lions.

As there is a strict Regard to Truth observed throughout the whole, it is apprehended the following Sheets will be not only amusing, but useful.





A

VOYAGE

T O

Guinea, Brasil, and the West-Indies;

In His Majesty's Ships, the *Swallow*,
and *Weymouth*, &c.

WE took in eight Months Provisions each, at *Portsmouth*; Stores, Carrening-Geer, and Necessaries requisite to continue us a double Voyage down the Coast of *Guinea*, for meeting, if possible, with the Pyrates; who did then very much infest those Parts, and destroy our Trade and Factories. Accordingly the Company's Governors for *Gambia* and other Places, embark'd under our Convoy, and were to have what Support we could give them, in restoring the Credit of the *Royal African Company*; which begun now to take new life under the Influence of the Duke of *Chandois*.

For this Purpose we set sail from *Spithead* February 5th, 17 $\frac{2}{21}$.

It is a Pleasure we have beyond the Merchant-Service in sailing, that we are forbid

B

Com-

A VOYAGE to Guinea,

Commerce. When Men of War have no other Lading than Provisions and Necessaries, the Duty of Sailors is eased, and their Conveniencies better ; whereas Cargoes, besides dishonouring the Commission, and unfitting the King's Ships for Action, stifle and sicken a Ship's Company in warm Climates, impose hard Services, and spoil the Trade of the Merchant they are designed to encourage, and expect a Gratuity from ; because Labour and Freight free, they can afford to undersel.

In the Evening from six to nine, we saw those Appearances in the Sky called *Capræ saltantes*, by the Sailors *Morrice-Dancers* ; they are Streams of Light that suddenly shoot into one another, and disappear for a Minute or two ; yet shifting their Stations *within the Quarter*, in so quick and surprizing a manner as might easily deceive superstitious Times into a belief of Armies in the Air ; *these*, the *Scintillæ volantes*, and such like nitrous Exhalations, having given rise, it's probable, to all those Prodigies the Air has heretofore in *impious* Times abounded with.

The *Western* Extremity of *England* that we are now passing by, has been supposed, from the equal Depth of Water found there, from Doors, Windows, and Roots of Trees, formerly (*it's said*) hooked up by Fishermen, to have been in Ages past continuous with the rocky little Islands of *Scilly*, by a Land called *Lioness*. When I consider the Changes Earthquakes and Inundations have made, and con-

tinue

tinue insensibly to make on all the different Coasts of the Earth, losing in some places, and gaining in others; and what new Islands have now and then been thrust up on the surface of the Waters by Streams and Currents, subterranean Winds and Fires; the thing does not appear to me altogether conjectural: the Rocks seem now with terrible accent to lament the separation. Who knows but we likewise are severing eternally from our Friends! it is a Voyage we shall at some time or other make; and those solitary Rocks that bound the last sight to our Homes and Countries, naturally bring to my mind some Reflections on the subject.

Whether when we have shut up this Life we shall remain resolved into our Elements; revive again in some Plant or Animal; or thirdly, be reinstated Soul and Body into Glory, is an Enquiry worthy our utmost Concern and Diligence; as it will sweeten the embittered Potions of Life, make us patient under Afflictions, and even easy on this treacherous Element the Sea; whom none ought to trust, but they who have a Faith in Providence.

Immortality has been the Ambition of the greatest and wisest Men that have lived, and indeed who would not in the satiety of worldly Objects seek out and desire such a prerogative to his Soul? The Philosophers, rather than lose so comfortable a prospect, have

placed it in an Existence that can never concern our Happiness or Misery as Men: The Princes of them having made it to subsist in the universal Soul of the World; from whence, say they, are struck out Scintillations to every thing that has Life; and in Death, what was Elementary, returned to its proper station, and what was Divine in us, to what is Divine in the Universe: a *Metempsychosis* or Transmigration continuing the World on in the order we see it.

When I ponder on the natural Cause of our Being . . . On the Necessity of that Cause to produce us, and what the material Agent is . . . On our gradual Advances and Decay; both in respect to Body and Soul . . . The Soul's sympathizing with the disorders of the Body . . . Our Sleeps and total Forgetfulness . . . Our Susceptibility of Madness or Idiocy, and *hebridous* Productions, especially that of Man with Beast; I am tempted to think this the most plausible of all Philosophical Opinions, in relation to our future Existence, that we are not Creatures of that consequence we imagine; our Natures neither deserving, nor should they expect in reason any other Immortality than what other Creatures enjoy in their Seed and Transmigration. This Doctrine is what the *Eastern* Sages, revered for their Wisdom, do still propagate, and teach the Heterodox a Lesson of Humility, *That Pride was not made for Man*: but at the same time it

it makes me superstitiously fear and abhor a Grave of Waters; which I fancy will subside us too far from the *Sun*, whose Power is the chief Principle to revive us again in some Plant or Animal on our native Element: which will be such perhaps as, in our Lifetime, our Senses were familiar and delighted with; and for which, we had a sympathetical Affection and Tendency to. But then granting the Doctrine, I am considering what the Advantage of such a belief can be to us as Men? Why none. Our personal Identity must be destroyed in the first Transmigration, much more in an infinite Succession; and we (*as we*) can never after this Life be affected with either Pleasure or Pain. I am therefore on the whole fond of *Revelation*, and wish that to be Truth which ascribes such Power to Faith, *That it can remove Mountains*: and therefore, with its fruits concurring, may raise us into immortal Spirits, translate us to Bliss, even without passing through the horrors of Death.

That an Almighty Power can subside us to Eternity, we are very sure; and that he will do it, I say let it be our Happiness, that we have the Promises of his Gospel; for here only can be a remedy to all worldly Cares; and wherever Death o'ertakes us, whether this *Voyage or next*, so we be upon our *Watch*, it will transport us to a *Port* and Treasure fixed. It will free us from *Rocks, Sands, and tempestuous*

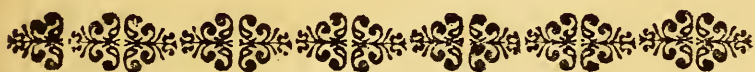
Seas, and anchor us in a Haven of Felicity.

The Gale with which we left *England*, carried us the length of Cape **Finisterre* into serener Weather, and Sun-shine; but there we met with continued Westerly Winds (very unusual to the Coast of *Portugal*) which prolonged our Passage. A Day or two's sail from *Madeira*, we fell in with Commodore *Matthews*, in the *Lion*, bound with a Squadron of four Sail to the *East-Indies*, on the like Service with ours to *Africa*, viz. *the Suppression of Pyrates*.

Abundance of Sea-weed floated about us at 40 Leagues distance, and continued a constant float till we reached the Island; an Argument that the bottom of the Sea, especially where the Depths are decreasing towards any Shore, have a Cloathing of Plants, which are probably the common Nutriment of large Fish. This our *Divers* in Pearl, and Coral-fishing, have confirmed to 8 or 10 Fathom water; and this, I think, the present Observation proves to be in greater Depths; 1st, Because the Unwieldiness of some, and the manner of being provided for Mastication in others, declares Ruminating, and not Prey, to be the way of Subsistence in many. 2^{dly}, There is a greater Resort toward Shores, than

* *Finis Terræ*, the Westermost Extremity of *Europe*, and formerly thought a *Ne plus ultra*.

in the distant Ocean, and perhaps, like many little Fish in our own Channels, they may have their Seasons of Rotation, and their Grazing, the Cause of unrooting and throwing it up here. 3dly, *Porpoises* play about us daily in Shoals, the most familiar great Fish in the *Atlantick*, and at all Parts of it: They tumble most upon a rough Surface, and against the Wind. Sailors observing these *Porpoises*, say, they portend Storms. The *Latins* call them *Porci marini*, from some Resemblance to the Hog, in it's Entrails and Bigness, (weighing several Hundred.) These Fish, as they are very numerous, never enticed to the Hook, wasting many of their hours in play, and gradually lessening from Shore, shew they know readily where to make their Meals at the bottom of the Sea, tho' at other times they certainly prey on smaller and particular Species of Fish: *These* their Feasts, it's like, and *That* their ordinary Diet.



M A D E I R A.

THIS Island, at the first Discovery of it Madeira. by the *Portuguese*, about the Year 1420, was over-run with *Wood*, whence it's Name. Divided to the two Discoverers, they set the Woods on fire, which *Travel-*

Madeira.

lers say burnt seven Years; the Ashes giving a vast Fertility to their Sugar-Canes, at the first Planting; till a Worm getting into the Cane, spoiled the Increase, &c. so that it is now entirely planted with Vines brought originally from *Candia*, which yield the strongest Wines: That called *Malmsey* is a rich Cordial, the best made at the Jesuit's Garden in *Fonchial*. Their Vintage is in *September* and *October*, and make about 25000 Pipes.

Others say, one *Mecham* an *Englishman*, in a Voyage to *Spain* was drove on this Island before the Discovery above: That his Crew sailed without him and his Mistress; whom he buried here, left an Inscription on her Tomb, and then in a Canoo of his own building sailed to *Barbary*; the King presenting him as a Prodigy to the King of *Castile*: From whose Account, the *Spaniard* soon after made conquest of the neighbouring *Canary* Islands. The Island is rocky Mountains, with an Intermixture of little fruitful Plains. The highest Parts, Goat-herds and Woods; the Middle, Kitchen-Gardens; and the Bottom, Vineyards. The Roads bad, which makes them bring their Wines to town in Hog-skins upon Asses; a brownish and a red sort, the latter called *Vino tinto*, being according to common report stained with *Tint*, tho' they assure you it is the natural Grape. They are almost all *limed*, a Preservative against the excessive Heats of the
West-

West-Indies, where they are for the most part transported by us, and where no other Wine keeps well. Madeira.

Trade is carried on by Bartering, 40 or 50 *per Cent.* being allowed on an Invoice of Provisions, Cloaths, or Household-Goods; of the former sort, Bread, Beef, Pork, Pilchard, Herring, Cheese, Butter, Salt, and Oil, are first in demand. The next are dry Goods, Hats, Wigs, Shirts, Stockings, Kerseys, Sagathys, Crape, Says, Shalloons, and Broadcloths, particularly Black Suits, the usual wear of the *Portuguese*. The last and least in Expence are Escrutores, Chairs, Pewter, Post-Paper, Counting-books, &c. For these you have in Exchange their Wine at 30 *Millrays* a Pipe; the *Malmsey*, 60. each *Millray* in present Pay 6 s. 8 d. in Bills 6 s. What other little Traffick I had, stands as *per Margin*. *

There is one Caution to be observed; That as there is not much dishonour in Trade to take advantage of a Chapman's Weakness, it is prudent to see the Wines you have tasted shipped forthwith, or it is

* Sold 2 half-worn Suits for a Pipe of Wine.

3 Second-hand Wigs ——— Ditto.

Loaf-Sugar sells 20 d. *per lib.*

Cheshire-Cheese, 8.

Bisket, 2.

Beef *per piece* 10.

Bought Citron at 15 d.

Lemons *per C.* 20.

Madeira. odds but the Stranger finds them adulterated : So that altho' they seem to allow a good Interest on your Goods ; yet the Badness of your Wine, or (if good) broke at their Price, lessens the supposed Advantage. Some Goods at particular times, bear an extraordinary Price ; not so much by a Call of the Island, as of *Brasil*, whither they are again exported.

Fonchial is the chief Town of the Island, the Residence of the Governour and Bishop : Is large and populous, has five or six Churches ; three Nunneries, not so strict as at *Lisbon*, we conversing and trading for Toys with them every day ; and as many *Convents of Fathers*. That of the Jesuits has at present in it only seventeen ; a neat handsome Building and Chappel : this *Order* being in all Catholick Countries the most respected for their Learning and Riches. Wherever you find a College of them, you may be sure there is good Living. The other Inhabitants consist of a mixed Race ; *Portuguese*, *Blacks*, and *Molattoes*, who are civil, courteous, and equally respected in Trade ; the *Portuguese* nowhere abroad scrupling an Alliance with darker Colours.

They keep no regular Market, but the Country brings in according as they think will be the Demand at any time : Kid, Pork, and now and then a lean Heifer, Cabbages, Lemons, Oranges, Walnuts, Figs, Yams, Bananoes, &c. There is one Curiosity I found
in

in their Gardens called *the everlasting Flower*, never fading after gathered, or indiscernibly, in many Years; the Herb is like Sage growing, and the Flower like Camomil: I laid by several of them, and found at twelve Months end they were just of the same freshness as when gathered.

Fonchial Road is very open and unsafe against West and S. W. Winds; deep Water also, that there is no anchoring but at the West End, and that in 40 Fathom, a Mile or Mile and half off Shore: So that when a Swell from those Quarters gives notice of a Gale coming, all Ships in the Road slip their Cables and to Sea, returning at a more favourable season for their lading: Which likewise, by an extraordinary Surf on the Beach, becomes troublesome to ship off; commonly done by swimming the Pipes off to the Lanch, or lade on the Beach, and run her with many hands into the Sea. The like trouble Boats have in Watering (by a River at the W. End of the Town) and is most commodiously done before the Seabreeze comes in.

The *Loo* makes a tolerable Harbour for small Vessels against Westerly Winds, that would be unsafe *without*. They make fast their Cable to a high Rock called the *Loo*, whereon is a Fort; but when the Winds veer, opening their Heads to the Sea, all
Hands

Madeira. Hands go on Shore, and leave the Ship and Storm to contest it by themselves.

Their Lodgings on shore are as uneasy to Strangers, as the *Road* to Ships; being prodigiously pestered with Bugs and Fleas. Cotts upon the Floors, is the common way of laying.

Their Strength is in the Militia, computed at 18000 disciplin'd and loyal Fellows: They, the *Azores*, and *Cape De Verd* Islands soon returning to their Allegiance, after that Revolution in *Portugal*, 1640.

Before I leave *Madeira*, I must relate the surprizing Account just arriv'd here by several Masters of Vessels, Eye-witnesses of a new Island which sprung out of the Sea the 20th of *November* last, 17 Leagues S. E. from *Terceira*, one of the Western Islands.

The Master who took a Survey of it by order from the Governour of *Terceira*, lays it down, a League long, a Mile broad, a little above the surface of the Water, and smoking like a *Volcano*. After the Eruption, the Sea for several Leagues round was covered with Pumice-stone, and half-broiled Fish. I was curious to know what Symptoms (if any) had preceded this Prodigy at the other Islands; and learned that *Pico*, one of them, a noted *Volcano*, had ceased to burn for some time, and that they had felt a Shock or two of an Earthquake that had done considerable damage. *Corvo*, an Island in this Neigh-

Neighbourhood (**Albert de Mandelzo* tells Madeira. us) started up also in such manner, *June* 16, 1628. And History relates the like in the *Archipelago*.

That new Islands should be formed in Rivers, as at the Conflux of the *Save* with the *Danube*, or Sands shifting in any Channels, may be from the Swiftneſs of the Streams, waſting ſome and raiſing others; but that this Effect ſhould happen in deep Water, 50 or 60 Miles from Shore, is truly wonderful: The Phænomenon ſeems beſt reſolved here, by ſubterranean Fires, which from a great Depth and Extent have their Vents at *Volcanoes*; and as the Conſumption of their Materials is more, the nigher they are ſuch Vents (obſervable in *Italy, Iceland, &c.*) ſo their Effects in the neighbourhood of Waters (when by any Accident the Mouth is ſtopp'd, and they meet) muſt be Concuſſions of the Earth, blowing the Mountains away in Cinders; and now and then in Ages, ſuch a Wonder as a new Iſland, the ſame as we ſee (if we may compare great things with ſmall) in ſeveral Chymical Preparations. *This* Iſland has ſettled, and probably by the Spungineſs of its Materials, may ſink in a few Years out of ſight again. The ultimate End, is perhaps to ſtrike Mankind with a Dread of Providence, and warn a ſinful World againſt the Conſequences of angry Omnipotence: Men
gene-

* Vide *Harris's Voyages*.

Madeira. generally taking a deeper Impression from something new and wonderful in Nature, than in the Creation or Conservation of the World it self.



CANARIES.

Canaries.

FROM *Madeira* we sailed by the *Canary* Islands, belonging to the *Spaniards*, and taken by them in 1418.

Palma, remarkable for rich Wines, making 12000 Pipes *per Annum*.

Ferro, or *Ferrara*, for our Navigators taking their first Meridian from thence, there being none, or the least Variation; and for a *Volcano* that now and then breaks out upon it. One in *November* 1677, seen five Days; and in 1692 broke out again with Earthquakes, and seen six Weeks together: There is also, our Voyages say, a wonderful Tree on it, forty Foot high, that condenses the Clouds in such quantity, as to supply the want of Springs.

Grand Canary, the chief Residence for Governours and Consuls; and *Teneriff*, for its noted *Pike*, thought from the shewing it self singly, to be the highest Land in the World. It is a Pyramidal Heap of rough Rocks piled thus (it's thought by Naturalists)

from

from some subterraneous Conflagration that ^{Canaries.} burst out heretofore.

The Ancients called them *Insulæ fortunatæ*; it's likely from the Interception they may have given to the Destruction of Coast-ers blown off, before the use of the Compass: Cape *Non* on the Continent being the utmost of their Navigation.



Cape de V E R D Islands,

DEnominated from the Cape, always ^{Cape de} green: They were anciently called ^{Verd} *Hesperides*; the Diminutive of *Spain*, called ^{Islands.} heretofore *Hesperia*, *propterea quod hæc regio, omnium extrema, sita sit ad Occidentem*; *Hesperus*, the Evening Star, by a Metaphor signifying the West.

They are inhabited by *Portuguese*, who welcome all sort of Ships (of good, or ill Design) bound to *Guinea*, *India*, *Brazil*, or the *West-Indies*; they frequently putting in here to furnish themselves with fresh Provisions, exchanged for Trifles; chiefly at *St. Iago* (*James*) the principal, which has three or four Forts, and where resides the Governour. In several of these Islands there are natural Salt-Ponds, kerning great quantities without trouble. The most noted by the
English

Cape de
Verd
Islands.

English is *Maio*, or the Isle of *May*, where many of our Ships lade in Summer ; and was, with *Tangier*, and *Bombay* in *India*, Part of *Q. Catherine's* Fortune to *England*. Another of them has a *Volcano*, and called *Del Fuego*.

The Land about the Cape appears the Height of that at *Deal* in *Kent* ; woody, a white even Sand along Shore, and about 28 Fathom Water a League off. Just to the Northward are two or three great Rocks, called by our Sailors *Shitten Islands*, being white all over with the Dung of Sea-fowls. At the same distance Southward of the Cape, is an Island called *Goree*, about a League from the Main, has a *French* Factory with two Forts, commanding all the Trade about the River *Senega*, from other Nations.

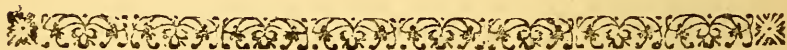
While our Ships lay to here, we had good Fishing with our Lines ; took *Breams* (or *Porga's*) *Skip-jacks*, *Groupes*, a *Rock-fish* (thick, short, and of a deep yellow on the Belly, Gills, and Mouth) and the *Jew-fish* ; which has a double Mouth, the uppermost not to swallow Food, but full of Air-pipes, and finned like a *Cod*, all well tasted : and having washed them down with a Bowl, our Friends and we parted, the *Weymouth* steering in for *Gambia* River with the Governor Colonel *Witney*, and the Merchants ; We for *Sierraleon*, anchoring there the Beginning of *April*, 1721.

The

The Winds from *Madeira* to *Sierraleon*^{Cape de Verd Islands.} at first blew fresh at S. and S. W. and as we came farther to the Southward, they wheel'd gradually on the Western Side of the Circle, quite round to the N. so as in the Latitude of 21 to have it N. E. a true *Trade*, seven, eight, or nine knots Day and Night; but whether it were the Badness of our half-minute Glasses, the tendency of the Sea with the Wind, or any Current, I cannot tell; but we always found our selves considerably further to the Southward, by Observation every day, than the Distance by the Log would give.

In this Passage, we took up a few *Turtle* with our Boat. As they sleep and bask upon the Surface, we steal upon them without noise, and throw them in upon their Backs. We saw also abundance of flying Fish, and their continual Enemies, the *Albicore* and *Dolphin*; the latter we strike now and then with a Fizzig, or Harping-iron. It is a glorious-colour'd, strait Fish, four or five Foot long, forked Tail, perpendicular to the Horizon: plays familiarly about Ships; is of dry Taste, but makes good Broth. They are seldom seen out of the Latitudes of a *Trade*-wind; and the flying Fish never: These are the bigness of small Herrings; their Wings about two thirds its length; come narrow from the Body, and end broad; they fly by the help of them a Furlong at a time when

pursued, turning in their Flight, sometimes dip in the Sea, and so up again; the Wind making them, by this Expedient, sceter.



AFRICA in general.

Africa.

AS there is nothing more surprizing and delightful in Voyages or Travels, than beholding the different Habits, Customs, Dieting, and Religion of the different Natives; so there is none I believe, wherein that Difference can be found, so much as here. A Colour, Language and Manners, as wide from ours, as we may imagine we should find in the planetary Subjects above, could we get there.

But before I proceed on any Observations of my own, it may be proper from others, to convey some Idea of *Guinea* in general; so much as carries Probability, either from the Dead or Living.

Africa, one of the four Quarters of the World, next in bigness to *Europe*, by the Ancients had several Names; *Olympia*, *Ammonis Ortygia*; but the most noted, *Apher*, from a Nephew, it's said, of *Abraham's*. It extends from about 36 N. to as many Degrees of Southern Latitude; and excepting *Egypt*, *Barbary*, *Morocco*, and in this last
Age

Age the Coast of *Guinea*, is a Country as little ^{Africa.} known as any Part of the Globe. *Marmol* says, the *Arabians* in the 400 of the *Hegyra*, passed into *Afric* and divided it. This is certain, that it has many fine large Rivers, some of them navigable for Ships. Along the Banks of these Rivers, the Inhabitants abound with *Millet*, *Rice*, *Pulse* or, *Indian-Corn*. The further we depart from *Morocco* on this West Side, or *Egypt* on the East, there is always found less Industry and more Ignorance: For Governments, tho' never so tyrannical, are better than none, extending some Improvement to Humanity.

The *Niger*, which is one of the largest Rivers in *Africa*, is said to have the same Property of overflowing every Year, like *Nile*, remunerating to the inland parts a vast Fertility and Increase; and this very probably, because it has been traced some hundred Leagues, and by the Course, descends from the *Ethiopian* Mountains, the common Fountain of both.

The *Senega* and *Gambia*, Branches of this great River, disgorge here at the windward Part of *Guinea*; they are large Rivers, driving considerable Trade: To the former of these, the King of *Morocco* extended his Dominions, about 1526, by the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Tombuto*, which still continues tributary, and whence that King raises considerable *Negro* Armies, his chief

Africa.

Strength. A College of the Sect of *Haly*, is founded in *Melli*, a Kingdom upon this River. They have many *Crocodiles* or *Alligators*, *Sea-Horses*, and *Shirks* in them. *Senega* affords great quantity of *Gum*; and at *Gambia* begin our Factories for Slaves, Teeth, and Gold, on which this general Remark, That the Slaves there, faring softer from a better Soil, are not so hardy as those lower down. The Teeth are as large, and in as much plenty, as at any one Part of the whole Coast; those taken out of the *Sea-Horse* are small, not weighing above 5 or 6 Pounds, but more solid than the *Elephant's*. And lastly, their Gold is current in what the Traders call *Bars*, little twisted Lengths; or in Rings of 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8 s. Value.

All the great Rivers flow and ebb regularly, being governed by the Moon, as the Tides on our own Coasts; but the Sandiness of the Soil, and Nearness of the Sun, makes the Country between, so extreamly dry, that they have great scarcity of Water for an hundred Miles an end sometimes; and this Drought is what brings the Beasts of all sorts in Drovers to the Banks, for satisfying Thirst, (*Tygers*, *Panthers*, *Leopards*, *Antelopes*, *Elephants*, *Apes*; *Ostriches*, &c.) From which Accident, say they, might probably have happened the many *Hebridous* Productions that have made this Country the Proverb of all Ages; it

con-

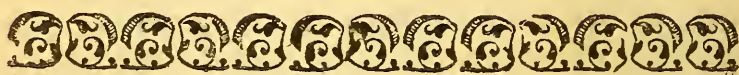
continually producing something new or monstrous. ^{Africa.}

Their chief Diet is *Indian* Corn, Rice, Palm-nuts, Bananas, Yamms, Pine-apples, and now and then a little Fish, or a Fowl; all which thro' Ignorance, and want of Necessaries, are very slovenly cooked by them.

Africa is almost a Triangle in shape; the Kingdoms on the North are *Mahometans*; and in the trading Towns of *Barbary*, and *Turky*, there is a little Mixture of *Jews*. On the Eastern Line next *Persia*, are said to be some of the Sect of *Gaurs*, followers of *Zoroastes*, a very learned *Persian* Philosopher, that appeared, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, about 2300 Years ago: He instituted Fire-worship, and established it by a superiour Cunning, through most parts of *Persia* and *India*, where there are still some left, poor and despised, (called *Persees*) since the seventh Century, when the *Mahometans* over-run that Country, and almost extinguished them. In *Ethiopia*, (*Prestor John's* Country) Writers say, are a sort of *Christians*, still acknowledging the Patriarch of *Alexandria*; meerly nominal I believe, for the *Greeks* themselves, much nigher his Pastorship, have since their Conquest by the *Turks*, in a manner lost *their* Christianity; Poverty and Ignorance, the Consequence of Captivity having obliterated the outward Pomp, which, next to Power, is the main Pillar in all Religions.

Africa.

Inland, and to the Southern Extremity, they are *Pagans*. And on this Western Line (the *Negroes*) all trust to the *Gregory* or *Fetish*; which in the bulk of it means no more than what we in *Europe* call *Charms*, which in many respects carries strong Superstition, that is, a vain Religion in it; only their consecrated Materials having more Reverence from their Ignorance and Fear, work more stupendous Effects; or are imagined to do so, which is the same thing. So much may serve for a general Idea of *Africa*, since several of the Articles will, in the progress of the Voyage, be occasionally expatiated on.



S I E R R A L E O N.

Sierraleon.

BY *Guinea* here, I mean all *Negro-land*, from about the River *Senega* Northward, to within a few Degrees of *Cape Bon Esperance*; because Ships bound to any part of this Extent, are said to be bound to *Guinea*; and because the People, without these Lines, alter to a dark Colour seen in the *Moors* at this, and the *Hottentots* at the other Extremity. The Name (*Gordon* says) imports *hot and dry*, and its Gold gives Name to our Coin.

The

The black Colour, and woolly Tegument^{Sierraleon} of these *Guineans*, is what first obtrudes it self on our Observation, and distinguishes them from the rest of Mankind, who no where else, in the warmest Latitudes, are seen thus totally changed ; nor removing, will they ever alter, without mixing in Generation. I have taken notice in my *Navy-Surgeon*, how difficultly the Colour is accounted for ; and tho' it be a little Heterodox, I am persuaded the black and white Race have, *ab origine*, sprung from different-coloured first Parents.

When we parted with the *Weymouth* off *Cape de Verd*, we steered S. S. W. to avoid the Shoals of *Grandee*, and in hawling in for the Land again, waited till we came into the Latitude of *Sierraleon*, some *others* laying on the N. Side that River. The Soundings in with the Cape are gradual, from 60 Fathoms about 12 Leagues off, to 13 ; when we get in sight of Cape *Sierraleon*, known by a single Tree much larger than the rest, and high land on the back of it. We run up on the Starboard side of the River, anchoring in the third Bay from the Cape ; where is very commodious watering and wooding ; and regular Tides, as in any part of the Channel of *England*.

Remark 1. The Trade for our *African* Company here, is carried on from *Bense* or *Brent Island*, about 5 Leagues distance from our Anchorage, by Factors, of whom Mr.

Sierraleon. *Plunket* is chief. The private Traders are about 30 in number, settled on the Star-board side of the River : loose privateering Blades, that if they cannot trade fairly with the Natives, will rob ; but then don't do it so much in pursuance of that trading Advice, (*Amass Riches, my Son,*) as to put themselves in a Capacity of living well, and treating their Friends, being always well pleased if they can keep their Stock *at Par*, and with their Profits purchase from time to time, Strong-beer, Wine, Cyder, and such Necessaries, of *Bristol* Ships, that more frequently than others put in there ; of these, *John Leadstine*, commonly called *old Cracker*, is reckoned the most thriving.

They all keep *Gromettas* (*Negro Servants*) which they hire from *Sherbro River*, at two *Accys* or *Bars* a Month. The Women keep House, and are obedient to any Prostitutions their Masters command. The Men-servants work in the Boats and Periagoes, which go a trading in turns with Coral, Brass, Pewter Pans, Pots, Arms, *English* Spirits, &c. and bring back from the *Rio Nunes*, Slaves, and Teeth ; and from *Sherbro*, Camwood for Dyers ; a Sloop or two is the most that is loaded from the latter Place in a Year, and that with difficulty ; being obliged to go far up the River, narrow and beset with *Mangroves*, which makes it sickly.

The

The *Ivory* here is of the *Elephant* or *Sea-Sierraleon*, *Horse*, great and small; the former, sold at about 40 *Accys* per *Quintal* in Exchange; the other at half Price.

The Slaves when brought here, have Chains put on, three or four linked together, under the Care of their *Gromettas*, till Opportunity of Sale; and then go at about 15 Pounds a good Slave, allowing the Buyer 40 or 50 *per Ct.* Advance on his Goods.

As these Slaves are placed under *Lodges* near the Owner's House, for Air, Cleanliness, and Customers better viewing them, I had every day the Curiosity of observing their Behaviour, which with most of them was very dejected. Once, on looking over some of old *Cracker's* Slaves, I could not help taking notice of one Fellow among the rest, of a tall, strong Make, and bold, stern aspect. As he imagined we were viewing them with a design to buy, he seemed to disdain his Fellow-Slaves for their Readiness to be examined, and as it were scorned looking at us, refusing to rise or stretch out his Limbs, as the Master commanded; which got him an unmerciful Whipping from *Cracker's* own Hand, with a cutting *Manateea Strap*, and had certainly killed him but for the loss he himself must sustain by it; all which the *Negro* bore with Magnanimity, shrinking very little, and shedding a Tear or two, which he endeavoured to hide

Sierraleon, as too' ashamed of. All the Company grew curious at his Courage, and wanted to know of *Cracker*, how he came by him; who told us, that this same Fellow, called Captain *Tomba*, was a Leader of some Country Villages that opposed them, and their Trade, at the River *Nunes*; killing our Friends there, and firing their Cottages. The Sufferers this way, by the Help of my Men, (says *Cracker*) surprized, and bound him in the Night, about a Month ago, he having killed two in his Defence, before they could secure him, and from thence he was brought hither, and made my Property.

Remark 2. *Sierraleon River* is very broad here, but in ten or twelve Miles rowing upwards, narrow to half the Breadth of the *Thames* at *London*, spread on both sides thick with *Mangroves*; Trees, or slender woody Shrubs, that spring from the low, watry Banks of Rivers, in warm Climates. From the Branches, the Sap descends again and takes a second Root, and so on, a third, fourth, &c. that the Ground is all covered; very difficult, if not impossible for Men to penetrate: This makes them fit Haunts for the *Manatea* and *Crocodile* (Sea-Cow and Alligator) which, with the *Shirks*, very much infest the River. A Story or two of these Creatures, may not be unacceptable.

The *Manatea* is about eleven or twelve Foot long, and in girt half as much; Teeth
only

only in the back part of her Mouth, which are ^{Sierraleon.} like the Ox's, as is also her Muzzle and Head; with this difference, that her Eyes are small in proportion, and Ears you can scarce thrust a Bodkin in; close to her Ears almost, are two broad Finns, sixteen or eighteen Inches long, that feel at the Extremities as tho' jointed; a broad Tail, Cuticle granulated, and of a colour and touch like Velvet: the true Skin an Inch thick, used by the *West-Indians* in Thongs for punishing their Slaves; weigh to five or six hundred Weight; of a firm Flesh, that cuts fat, lean, and white like Veal: Boiled, stewed, or roasted (for I have eaten it all ways) it has no fishy Taste, but is as acceptable a Treat as Venison to Gockneighs.

The *Negroes* way of taking them, is in a *Canoo*, which they paddle towards the *Manatea* with as little noise as possible, (she being extreamly quick of hearing :) when near enough, a Man placed ready in the Boat's Head, strikes in his Harpoon with a long Pole into her, and lets go. She makes towards the *Mangroves* immediately, and the Water being shallow, they now and then get sight of the Pole, and so follow, renewing the Strokes till they kill, or weary her, and then drag her ashore.

The *Alligator* answers in all respects, and doubtless is the *Egyptian Crocodile*; shaped not unlike the *Lizard*, but of two hun-

Sierraleon. hundred Weight perhaps, covered with hard Scales that are impenetrable to Shot, unless very near; long Jaws set with sharp Teeth, two very large, and two small: Fins like Hands: A Tail thick and continuous; will live a long time out of the Water, being fold frequently alive in the *West-Indies*. They are not shy, but rather bold; and tho' easily waked, will not make off presently, our Boats falling down with the Stream within a few yards of them, before they stir; laying basking to the Sun, in little muddy Nooks they form in their egress from the *Mangroves*. When they float upon the Water, they lie very still and like a Log of Timber, till the little Fry underneath come unwarily sporting about them and tempt their greedy Stomachs; they diving very quick upon their Prey.

One of these set upon a Man of Captain *Masterton's*, a Sloop that put in here from *Sherbro*. The Sailor, to avoid walking round a Bay, and being mellow with drinking, would needs cut his way short by wading over a weedy part of it up to his Breast, where the *Alligator* seized him; and the Fellow having full Courage, ran his Arm down his Throat: Notwithstanding which, the *Crocodile* loosed, and renewed the Battle two or three times, till a Canoo that saw the Distress, paddled to his Relief, but he was torn unmercifully in his Buttocks, Arms, Shoulders,

ders, Thighs, and Sides ; and had not the ^{Sierra'leon.} Creature been young, must certainly have been killed. The Man recovered of his Wounds.

Shirks very much infest the Mouth of this River ; the most bold and ravenous of the watry Tribe : He never forsakes your Hook, till he is taken, and flights the Proverb,

Occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum.

We have caught three in less than half an hour, each 8 or 10 Foot long, the Livers of them making above ten Gallons of Oil. They have four or five Rows of short, sharp Teeth, one within another, and the Sides of them indented like Saws. Their Swallows 14 and 16 Inches over. In the Maws, we found Beef Bones, and what other Trash had been thrown over-board in the Day ; for they are like the Parson's Barn ; they turn on their backs to take in their Prey. Our Seamen dressed and eat the Flesh, tho' very strong ; the fault of all carnivorous Animals.

These *Shirks* have generally two, three, or more pretty-coloured little Fish, the bigness of Herrings attending them, called *Pilots* : They go in and out at his Maw, or fasten on his Back, in familiar manner : They are supposed like the *Jackall* to the
Lion,

Sierraleon. *Lion*, to be instrumental in procuring him Prey, and warning him of Danger in Shoals, for which he receives Food, and Protection from the *Shirk*.

I shall give an Instance or two within my own knowledge, to shew the Boldness and Rapacity of this Fish.

The *Weymouth's* Barge rowing up *Gambia* River, a *Shirk* made to them, and notwithstanding the noise of so many Oars, seized one of them in his Mouth, and snapped it in two.

At *Whydah*, a very dangerous Coast to land at, having two Bars before it, and great Seas; a Canoo was going on shore from a Merchant-Ship with some Goods, and in attempting to land, overset: A *Shirk* nigh hand, seized upon one of the Men in the Water, and by the Swell of the Sea, they were both cast on shore; notwithstanding which, the *Shirk* never quitted his hold, but with the next *Ascend* of the Sea, carried him clear off.

In short, their Voracity refuses nothing; Canvas, Ropeyarns, Bones, Blanketing, &c. I have seen them frequently seize a Corpse, as soon as it was committed to the Sea; tearing and devouring that, and the *Hammock* that shrouded it, without suffering it once to sink, tho' a great Weight of Ballast in it.

There are in the Bays of this River, variety of good Fish, that supplies the Scarcity
of

of Flesh; Turtle, Mullet, Skate, *Ten-poun-^{Sierraleon.} ders, †Old-wives, ‡Cavalloes, || Barricudoes, **Sucking-Fish, Oysters, ††Cat-Fish, Bream, and Numb-Fish; the most of which we catch'd in great numbers with our Searn; two or three Hours in a Morning supplying a Belly-full to the whole Ship's Company.

The Oysters and Numb-Fish have something peculiar; the former growing, or rather sticking in great Bunches of twenty or thirty, upon the Rocks and Mangroves, to which they seemingly grow, very small and ill-tasted.

The latter, which is the *Torpedo* of the Ancients, is flat as a Skate, so very cold as to numb the Hands or Arms of those who touch him, but goes off again in few Hours; and with a Stick you may toss him about a Day together without any other Harm than losing your time.

* Ten-pounders are like Mullets, but full of small Bones, like Herring-bones.

† Old-wives; a scaly, flat Fish, half as thick as long, called so from some Resemblance the Face is fancied to have, with that of a Nun's.

‡ Cavalloes; a bright, silver-colour'd Fish, with a prickly Ridge on each side, half its length.

|| Barricudoes; a well-tasted Fish, one Foot and an half long, not wholesome if the Roof of the Mouth be black.

** Sucking-Fish; something like the Dog-Fish; underneath he has an oval Flat, of three Inches and an half over, granulated like a Nutmeg-grater; with this he sticks so fast, as difficultly to be torn from the Deck. He often infests the Shirk, sticks fast, and sucks his Nourishment from him.

†† Cat-Fish, so called from four slender Fibres like Whiskers, sprouting from the under part of his Mouth.

Sierraleon. *Remark 3.* The Country about *Sierraleon* is so thick spread with Wood, that you cannot penetrate a Pole's length from the Water-side, unless between the Town, and Fountain whence they fetch their Water, without a great deal of difficulty. They have Paths however through these Woods, to their *Lollas, and †Lugars, which tho' but a mile or two from the Town, are frequently the Walks of wild Beasts; their Excrement I have found up and down in walking here, white and mixed with Osicles.

The Shores hereabouts, like those of *Sweden*, are rocky, and without any Cover of Earth almost; yet produce large Trees, the Roots spreading on the Surface: The chief of these are the Palm, the Coco, and the Cotton-Tree, described *p. 198*, in the first Volume of the *History of the Pyrates*.

Other Vegetables for Food are Rice, Yams, || Plantanes, ‡ Pine-Apples, Limes, Oranges,

* Lollas, are Places cleared of Wood, but barren; the Habitations only of Bug a bugs, the Species of an Ant; build not above a Foot and half high; are whitish, smaller than the common sort, sting, and devour Cloaths.

† Lugars; open, clear Places, sowed with Rice, &c.

‡ The Pine-Apple is their Prince of Fruits; does not grow so high, but about the Bigness of a Pæony; a beautiful green and yellow; firm and juicy as a Melon; eaten with Wine and Sugar. Some of strong Fancy, imagine all sorts of Fruit to be tasted in it; to me, it always left a stinging abstergent Flavour.

|| *Plantanes* and *Bananoes* are a very common Fruit, shaped like Cucumbers, but slender and longer; peeled of their Coat, they are roasted and eat as Bread, fried, or eaten raw. The latter

ranges, † Papais, Palm-nuts, wild Roots, and Berries. Sierraleon,

This is their common Sustenance; the Gift of Providence, without their Care; they might abound, but prefer Ease and Indolence, he being greatest among them, who can afford to eat || Rice all the Year round. Kid and Fowl, they have a few, and were all the domestick Animals I saw.

Remark 4. On the Negroes here, their Clothing, Customs and Religion.

The *Men* are well-limbed, clean Fellows; flattish-nosed, and many with *Exomphalos's*; the Effect of bad Midwifry, or straining in their Infancy to walk; for they are never taught, but creep upon a Matt on all Fours, till they have Strength to erect themselves;

latter is the juicier, and of a preferable Taste. The Plant bearing them grows as high as a Cherry-tree, with a Leaf three Yards long, and one over; an admirable Detergent in foul, sanious Ulcers, stripped of the inner Skin, and applied as you do Housleek in Corns.

* Lime-trees, about as big as our *Apple*, arise by several Roots, and have an oval Leaf; the Fruit smaller, but of sharper Scent and Flavour than Lemons. In the Woods also are many *Sevil-Orange* Trees, the Fruit largest and best tasted of any I ever met.

† Papais, the Size of a moderate *Melon*, green as that, and full of Seeds, which thrown out, and the outside pared, is used with Meat, buttered and salted. They grow 20 or 30 Foot high. *Bosman* says, Male and Female (the *Alcoran*, that all Fruits grow so, p. 213.) the Male blossoming, but bearing no Fruit.

|| Rice is sown in swampy Grounds; grows the height of our Wheat, and from the top of the Stems shoot very slender Stalks, bearing the Rice grained one above another to a vast Increase; a Peck yielding above 40 Bushels: Yet such is their Idleness, there is often a Deficiency supplied from *Sherbro, &c.*

Sierraleon. and notwithstanding this, are seldom distorted. These do not circumcise, but the Slaves brought from the Northward are frequently so; perhaps from bordering on *Morocco*.

The *Women* are not nigh so well shaped as the Men: Childing, and their Breasts always pendulous, stretches them to so unseemly a Length and Bigness, that some, like the *Egyptians*, I believe, could suckle over their Shoulders. Their being imployed in all Labour, makes them robust; for such as are not *Gromettas*, work hard in Tillage, make Palm-Oil, or spin Cotton; and when they are free from such work, the idle Husbands put them upon breading and fetishing out their Wool, they being prodigious proud and curious in this sort of Ornament; and keep them every day, for many hours together, at it.

Their *Houses* are low, little Hutts, not quite so bad as many in *Yorkshire*, built with wooden Stockades set in the ground, in a round or square form, thatched with Straw; they are swept clean every day; and for Furniture, have a Matt or two to lie down upon; two or three earthen or wooden Dishes, and Stools, with a Spoon, all of their own making. They are idle, principally from want of Arts and domestick Employments: for as I observed, they are so cautious of planting too much, and wasting their Labour, that they are really improvident; smoking
all

all day in long Reed-Pipes together; un-^{Sierraleon.}plagued with To-morrow, or the Politicks of *Europe*.

Whole Towns shift their Habitations, either when they do not like their Neighbours, or have more Conveniency somewhere else; soon clearing Ground enough for what Building and Culture they purpose. *Seignior Joseph*, a Christian *Negro* of this Place, has lately with his People left a clean, well-built Town, and removed further up the River. Their Huts are mostly orbicular, forming a spacious square Area in the middle, and *in this*, the doors paved with Cockle-Shells; two or three Crosses erected, and round about, Lime-trees, Papais, Plantanes, Pine-apples, and a few Bee-hives; the latter made out of pieces of old Trees, three foot long, hollowed and raised on two Poles.

In the middle of the Area was a great Curiosity, a large Tree with 500 *hanging Nests* at least upon it; this is a small familiar Bird, that builds thus about their Towns, upon the extreme slenderest Twigs, hanging like Fruit, and declares the Wisdom of Instinct, since it's designed a Security for their Young, against Monkeys, Parrots, Squirrels, &c. Creatures of Prey, whose Weight cannot there be supported.

Anointing their Body and Limbs with Palm-Oil, is a daily Practice with both Sexes;

Sierialeen some use * Civet, but all cast a strong, disagreeable Smell; this mending it much like as melted Tallow is by a Perfumer's Shop.

Palaavers are their Courts of Judicature, where the principal or elderly Men amongst them meet in a Ring or under a *Lodge*, to settle the Differences that arise amongst themselves, or with the Factories; the frequentest are in relation to Trade. Each salutes the other at meeting, by a *Bend* of the Elbow, and raising his Hand to his Face. When they have heard what each Party has to say, they determine by Vote, who has the Reason of the thing on their side, and so punish, or acquit. For Fornication, the Party (whether Man or Woman) is sold for a Slave. If a white Man lies with another's Slave, he is bound to redeem her at a current Price. On a Charge of Murder, Adultery, or *if there can be* any other more heinous Crime amongst them, the suspected Person must drink of a red Water his Judges prepare; which is called, purging the Criminal: that is, if the suspected be of ill Life, or had Envy to the deceased, so that the Surmizes against him are strong, though they want positive Evidence; they will give him

* The *Civet* is about as large as a Ram Cat, comes from about *Sherbro*; it's Head like a Foxes. The Male only affords this, at the rate of 3 or 4 Grains a day, gathered with a Quill out of a little Cod or Hole, near the Intestin. rectum.

so much of that Liquor as shall kill him ; but ^{Sierralcon.} if inclined to spare him, they politickly give less, or make it weaker, whereby his Innocence appears the better to the Friends and Relations of the deceased.

Panyarring, is a Term for Man-stealing along the whole Coast : Here it's used also, for stealing any thing else ; and by Custom (their Law) every Man has a right to seize of another at any Conveniency, so much as he can prove afterwards, at the *Palaaver-Court*, to have been defrauded of, by any body in the same place he was cheated.

Dancing is the Diversion of their Evenings : Men and Women make a Ring in an open part of the Town, and one at a time shews his Skill in antick Motions and Gesticulations, yet with a great deal of Agility, the Company making the Musick by clapping their hands together during the time, helped by the louder noise of two or three Drums made of a hollowed piece of Tree, and covered with Kid-Skin. Sometimes they are all round in a Circle laughing, and with uncouth Notes, blame or praise somebody in the Company.

During our stay at this *Port*, we paid a Visit to *Seignior Joseph*, about nine miles up the River. The Reason of his leaving the other Town, he told me was, the frequent *Palaavers* he was engaged in, on account of Differences between his People and

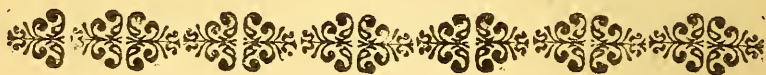
Sierraleon. the *Grimattoes*, and the great Expence he was at, in so near a Neighbourhood with the *English*. He has been in *England* and *Portugal*; at the last place he was baptized, and took in that christian Erudition that he endeavours to propagate. He has built a little Oratory for his People's Devotions; erected a Cross; taught several of his Kindred Letters, dispersing among them little Romish Prayer-Books, and many of them are known by Christian Names. Those of the Country not yet initiated, never have but one. *Moufi*, or *Moses*; *Tarrat*, and *Cambar*, are very common Names to the Men; *Baulee*, and *Kibullee*, to the Women. Others take the *Cognomen* from their Disposition; Lion, Lamb, Bear, Hog, &c. like our *Danish* Ancestors. *Seignior Joseph*, who is very communicative, tells me, to the extent of his knowledge, the People are cleanly, of good Temper, and docible; all wishing some Missionaries would think their Conversion and Wants worth regarding: But the Poverty of their Country will probably keep them a long time from that Benefit. There is no Invitation in a barren Soil, scarce of Provisions and Necessaries, Danger of wild Beasts a mile from Home (especially Wolves;) and about their Houses, Rats, Snakes, Toads, Musquitoes, Centipes, Scorpions, Lizards, and innumerable Swarms of Ants, a white, black, and red sort, that build to 8 or 9 Foot high,

high, dig up the Foundation of their Houses^{Sierraleon,} in two or three Years, or turn a Chest of Cloaths to Dust (if not watched) in as many Weeks. This Christian *Negro*, by the Advantage of Trade, has in some measure removed the Wants of his own Family (his Towns;) they are tolerably stocked with *Guinea* Hens, Fish, and Venison; while the Country fifty miles off, he says, have little to feed on but Honey, and Manyoco Root. He received us in a *European* Dress (Gown, Slippers, Cap, &c.) and sent his Canoos out to shew us the Diversion of chasing the *Manatea*; they brought one ashore in two hours time, and we had stewed, roast, and boiled, with a clean Table-cloth, Knives and Forks, and Variety of Wines and strong Beer, for our Entertainment. The Flesh of this Creature was white, and not fishy; but very tough, and seasoned high (as are all their Dishes) with Ochre, Malaguetta, and Bell-pepper.

His Kinswomen came into the Room after we had dined, and to them other Neighbours, saluting those of their own Colour, one by one, by making a Bend of their right Elbow, so that the Hand comes nigh the Mouth; the other to whom she addresses, is in the same Posture, and mixing their Thumbs and middle Fingers, they snap them gently off, and retreat with a small Quaker-like Obedience, decently and without Hurry or Laugh. They shewed likewise much good-nature towards

Sierraleon. one another, in dividing two or three Biskets, and half a Pint of Citron Water (we brought) into twenty Parts, rather than any one should miss a Taste. In conclusion, *Seignior Joseph* saw us to the Boat, and took leave with the same Complaisance he had treated us.

The *Religion* here, if it may be called such, is their Veneration to *Gregries*: Every one keeps in his House, in his Canoo, or about his Person, something that he highly reverences, and that he imagines can, and does defend him from Miscarriage, in the nature our Country-Folks do Charms, but with more Fear: And these things are very various; either a cleaved piece of Wood, a Bundle of peculiar little Sticks or Bones, a Monkey's Skull, or the like. To these, every Family has now and then a Feast, inviting one another; but of this more, under the Word *Fetish*.



The GRAIN and MALAGUETTA Coasts.

*The Grain
nd Mala-
guetta
Coasts.*

WE left *Sierraleon* and were joined by our Consort the *Weymouth*, May 1. from *Gambia*; we found upon Conference, that both Ships had like to have ended their Voyage

Voyage at these first Ports : She had run on a Sand in that River, wringing three Days and Nights in a Tide's way, with great difficulty getting off : We, at *Sierraleon* letting in Water to the Ship one Evening, had forgot the Plug, till we had 5 or 6 Foot Water in the Hold.

*The Grain
and Mala-
guetta
Coasts.*

The Company's Presents, we understood by them, were received well there by the King of *Barra*, and he has given the Factors leave to build a Fortification at *Gilliflee*, a Town commanded by a Woman, about 15 Miles up the River ; made a Duchefs by Captain *Passenger*, from whence the Custom I believe has been taken up, of distinguishing the most deserving Fellows at trading Towns by the Titles of Knights, Colonels, and Captains, which they are very proud of. This Duchefs of *Gilliflee* has become very much the Factory's Friend there, and gives all possible Assistance in their Settlement.

Cape *St. Mary's*, or the Starboard Entrance of that River, they found no Cannibals, as commonly reported among Sailors ; but a civilized People, with whom they wooed their Ship.

On the 4th we were off Cape *Monte*, and next day *Montzerado*, both high Lands ; the former appearing in a double, the latter with a single *Hommock* ; the Country trenching from them, low and woody ; about 35 Fathom Water 3 Leagues from Shore. From
the

*The Grain
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the latter, came off a Canoo with the *Cabiceer*, Captain *John Hee*, distinguished by an old Hat, and Sailor's Jackett with a greater number of thick brass Rings on his Fingers and Toes, than his Attendants. He seemed shy of entering the Ship, apprehending a *Panyarring*; his Town's People having often suffered by the Treachery of Ships, and they as often returned it, sometimes with Cruelty, which has given rise to the Report of their being Savages and Cannibals at several places; very unlikely any where, because they could not part with their Slaves, which are but few, if they had this Custom, nor could they have any Trade or Neighbours: Their Fears would make them shun their Enemies (the rest of Mankind) and all Correspondence totally cease.

The *Fetish* they brought off, on this dangerous Voyage, was a Bundle of small, black Sticks, like a hundred of Sparrowgrasses put into a Bag, knit of Silk-grass, and hanging over one of their Shoulders, seeming to place a Security and Confidence in it; for I would have handled and tasted it, but found it put them in a Fright, saying, to deter me, *You didee, you kicatavoo*, (i. e.) if you eat, you die presently.

The mutual Distrust between us, made their present Business only begging old Breeches, Shirts, Rags, Biskett, and whatever else they saw, parting in some hurry,
and

and calling to one another for that end, in ^{The Grain} a Note like what Butchers use in driving ^{and Mala-} Cattle. They have plenty of Milhio, Rice, ^{guetta} Coasts. Yamms, and Salt hereabouts.

We found in our coasting by *Bashau*, and other trading Towns, the same Fears subsisting, coming off every day in their Canoos, and then at a stand whether they should enter: The boldest would sometimes come on board, bringing Rice, Malaguetta, and Teeth, but staying under Fear and Suspicion. Here we may take these Observations.

1. *Canoos* are what are used through the whole Coast for transporting Men and Goods. Each is made of a single Cotton-tree, chizelled and hollowed into the shape of a Boat; some of them 8 or 10 Foot broad, carrying twenty Rowers. The Negroes do not row one way and look another, but all forward, and standing at their Paddles, they dash together with dexterity, and if they carry a *Cabiceer*, always sing; a Mark of Respect.

2. *Cabiceers* are the principal of the trading Men at all Towns; their Experience, or Courage having given them that Superiority: All Acts of Government in their several Districts, are by their Votes.

They came off to us with some *English* Title and Certificate; the Favour of former Traders to them, for their Honesty and good Service; and were they done with Caution, might be of use to Ships as they succeed in
the

*The Grain
and Mala-
guetta
Coasts.*

the Trade: Whereas now they contain little Truth, being done out of Humour, and learn them only to beg or steal with more Impudence.

3. The *Negrish* Language alters a little in sailing, but as they are Strangers to Arts, &c. restrained to a few Words, expressive of their Necessities: This I think, because in their Meetings they are not talkative; In their Trading the same Sound comes up often; and their Songs, a Repetition of six Words a hundred times.

Some *Negrish* Words.

Didee, Eat.
Malafia, } Ivory.
Govina, }
Malembenda, Rice.
Cockracoo, Fowl.
Praam, Good.
Nino, Sleep.
Sam sam, all one.
Acquidera, Agreed.
Oura, Very well.
Tomy, Arse-clout.
Attee, ho, How do you?

Dashee, a Present.
Kickatavoo, Killed,
 or Dead.
Tossu, Be gone.
Tarra, Sick.
Fabra, Come.
Brinnee, White Man.
Bovinee, Black Man.
Soquebah, Gone, lost.
Tongo, Man's Privities.
Bombo, Woman's.

Lastly, the Dress common to both Sexes every where, is the *Tomy*, or Arse-clout, and the pleating or breading of their Wooll. The Arse-clout the Women tie about their Hips,

Hips, and falls half way down their Thigh The Grain
and Mala-
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Coasts.
all round; but the Men bring it under their
Twist, and fasten just upon the girdling part
behind. Both take great delight in twisting
the Wool of their Heads into Ringlets, with
Gold or Stones, and bestow a great deal of
Time and Genius in it.

The Women are fondest of what they call
Fetishing, setting themselves out to attract
the good Graces of the Men. They carry a
Streak round their Foreheads, of white, red,
or yellow Wash, which being thin, falls in
lines before it dries. Others make Circles
with it, round the Arms and Bodies, and in
this frightful Figure, please. The Men, on
the other side, have their Ornaments consist
in Bracelets; or Manilla's, about their Wrists
and Ancles, of Brass, Copper, Pewter, or I-
vory; the same again on their Fingers and
Toes: a Necklace of Monkey's Teeth, Ivory
Sticks in their Ears, with a broad head. Most
of them have one, two, or more of these
Ornaments, and have an Emulation in the
number and use of them.

When the Nakedness, Poverty and Ignorance of these Species of Men are considered; it would incline one to think it a bettering their Condition, to transport them to the worst of Christian Slavery; but as we find them little mended in those respects at the *West-Indies*, their Patrons respecting them only as Beasts of Burthen; there is rather
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The Grain and Malaguetta Coasts. Inhumanity in removing them from their Countries and Families; here they get Ease with their spare Diet; the Woods, the Fruits, the Rivers, and Forests, with what they produce, is equally the property of all. By Transfretation they get the brown Bread, without the Gospel: together, as Mr. *Baxter* observed, they might be good Fare, but hard Work and Stripes without it, must be allowed an unpleasant Change. They are fed, it's true, but with the same Diet and Design we do Horses; and what is an aggravating Circumstance, they have a Property in nothing, not even in their Wives and Children. No wonder then, Men under this View, or worse Apprehensions, should be prompted with Opportunity frequently to sacrifice the Instruments of it.



S E S T H O S.

Sesthos.

WE anchored before *Sesthos*, or *Sesthio*. May 10th, a Place where most of our windward Slave-ships stop to buy Rice, exchanged at about 2s. per Quintal. The River is about half the breadth of the *Thames*; a narrow Entrance only for Boats on the starboard Side, between two Rocks, which, on great Swells and Winds, make the shooting

ing of it dangerous; the rest of the breadth ^{Sesthos.} being choaked with Sands.

The Town is large, and built after a different Model from those we have left; they run them up (square or round) four Foot from the Earth; at that height, is the first and chief Room, to sit, talk, or sleep in, lined with matted Rinds of Trees, supported with Stockades, and in the middle of it, a Fire-place for Charcoal, that serves a double Purpose; driving off Insects and Vermine, and drying their Rice and *Indian* Corn. Of the upper Loft they make a Store-house, that runs up pyramidal 30 foot; making the Town at distance, appear like a number of Spires, each standing singly.

This, and every Town hereabouts, had a *Palaaver-Room*, a publick Place of meeting for the People to council, and transact the Business of the Society: They are large, and built something like our *Lodges* for Carts, open, 4 foot from the Ground; then a Stage to sit, rafted and well covered against Rain and Sun-shine. Here they meet without distinction; King and Subject, smoaking from Morning to Night. At this Place, it is common to bring your Traffick; brass Pans, pewter Basins, Powder, Shot, old Chests, &c. and exchange for Rice, Goats and Fowls. Two or three Pipes, a Charge of Powder, or such a Trifle, buys a Fowl. A 2 pound Basin buys a Goat; and I purchased two for an old Chest,

Sefthos:

Chest, with a Lock to it. Such a piece of Mechanism I found a Rarity, and brought all the Country down to admire. A Watch still encreased their Wonder; and making *Paper speak* (as they call it) is a Miracle.

They bring their written Certificates hinted above, and when you tell them the Contents, or they are made Messengers of Notes between *English* Ships, they express the utmost Surprize at such sort of Knowledge and Intercourse; it infinitely exceeds their Understanding, and impresses a superior and advantageous Idea of the *Europeans*.

The King who commands here has the Name of *Pedro*; he lives about five Miles up the River, a Sample of Negro Majesty.

As there is a *Dashee* expected before Ships can wood and water here; it was thought expedient to send the Royal Perquisite up by Embassy (a Lieutenant and Purser) who being in all respects equal to the Trust, were dismissed with proper Instructions, and being arrived at the King's Town, they were ushered or thrust in by some of the Courtiers into the common *Palaaver-Room* (to wait the King's dressing, and coming from his Palace) his publick Audience being ever in the Presence of the People. After waiting an hour, King *Pedro* came attended by a hundred *naked Nobles*, all smoaking, and a Horn blowing before them. The King's Dress was very antick: He had a dirty, red Bays Gown

Gown on, chequer'd with patch-work of other Colours, like a *Jack pudding*, and a Fellow to bear the Train, which was a narrow Slip of *Culgee* tacked to the bottom of the Gown. He had an old black full-bottom'd Wig, uncombed; an old Hat not half big enough, and so set considerably behind the Fore-top, that made his meagre Face like a Scare-crow; coarse Shoes and Stockings, unbuckled and unty'd, and a brass Chain of 20 *lib.* at least about his Neck.

To this Figure of a Man, our modern Embassadors in their Holiday Suits, fell on their Knees, and might have continued there till this time, for what *Pedro* cared: He was something surprized indeed, but took it for the Fashion of their Country, and so kept making instant Motions for the *Dashee*. This brought them from their Knees, as the proper Attitude for presenting it; consisting in a trading Gun, two pieces of salt Ship-beef, a Cheese, a Bottle of Brandy, a Dozen of Pipes, and two Dozen of Congees. But *Pedro*, who understood the Present better than the Bows, did not seem pleased when he saw it; not for any defect in the Magnificence, but they were such things as he had not present Occasion for; asking some of their Clothes and to take those back again, particularly their Breeches, sullied a little with kneeling in the Spittle: But on a *Palaaver* with his Ministers,

Sesthos.

the Present was accepted, and the Officers dismissed back with a Glass of Palm-Wine and *Attee, ho*, (the common way of Salutation with Thumbs and Fingers mixed, and snapping off.)

To smoothe the King into a good Opinion of our Generosity, we made it up to his Son, *Tom Freeman*; who, to shew his good-nature, came on board uninvited, bringing his Flagelet, and obliging us with some wild Notes. Him we dress'd with an edg'd Hat, a Wig, and a Sword, and gave a Patent upon a large Sheet of Parchment, creating him Duke of *Sesthos*, affixing all our Hands, and the Impress of a Butter mark on Putty.

This was taken so kindly by the Father, that he sent us a couple of Goats in return, and his younger Son *Josée* for further Marks of our Favour; whom we dignified also, on a small Consideration, with the Title of *Prince of Baxos*. Several indeed had been titled, but none so eminently, as by Patent, before; which procured us the entire good-will of the King; suffering us at any time to hawl our Searn in the River, where we caught good store of Mulletts, Soles, Bump noses, and Rock-fish; and to go up to their Villages unmolested.

In one of these Towns, some others of us paid a Visit to his Majesty, whom we found at a Palace built as humble as a Hogsty; the entrance was narrow like a Port-hole,
lead-

leading into what we may call his Court-Sesthos. Yard, a slovenly little Spot, and two or three Hutts in it, which I found to be the Apartment of his Women. From this we popped through another short Portico, and discovered him on the left hand, upon a place without his House, raised like a Taylor's Shop-board, and smoaking with two or three old Women, (the favourite Diversion of both Sexes.) His Dress and Figure, with the novelty of ours, created mutual Smiles which held a few Minutes, and then we took leave with the *Attee, ho*.

From his Town we went to two others still farther up the River ; at one of them was a bright yellow-colour'd Man, and being curious to know his Original, were informed (if we interpret their Signs and Language right) that he came from a good distance in the Country, where were more. Captain *Bullfinch Lamb*, and others, have since told me, he had seen several ; Mr. *Thompson*, that he saw one at *Angola*, and another at *Madagascar* ; a great Rarity, and as perplexing to account for, as the black Colour.

Exomphalos's are very common among the *Negroes* here. I saw also one squint-ey'd ; another without a Nose ; and another with a Hair Lip ; Blemishes rare among them. Circumcision is used pretty much ; not as a

Sesthos.

religious Symbol, but at the Humour of the Parent, who had found a Conveniency in it.

The Diet is Rice, Potatoes, Yacoos or *Indian* Corn, Parsly, and other Vegetables; the Cultivation of which, and their domestick Affairs, are all imposed on the Women.

In general may be observed, they are exceeding *cowardly*, like other Countries undisciplined; a whole Town running away from a Boat with white Men. *Thievish* on their own Dunghills; none of them seeming to have any Notion of it as a Crime, and quarrel only about a Share of what is stole. So *lazy*, that Scores of them will attend our Searn for a Bisket, or the Distribution of such small Fish as are thrown by; for tho' their Waters afford great Plenty, they want the Means or Inclination to catch them; chusing rather to loiter and jump about the Sands, or play at round Holes, than endeavour to get Food for themselves.



Cape APOLLONIA.

Cape Apollonia.

FROM *Sesthos*, we reached in two or three Days *Cape Palma*; weighed Anchor from *Jaque a Jagues*, the 28th; from *Bassau*, the 30th; *Assmee*, the 31st; and anchored here the 6th of *June*. In this part of our Sailing may be observed,

I. That

1. That the Land from *Sierraleon*, except-^{Cape Apolonia.} ing two or three Capes, and that about *Drewin*, appears low, and the first Land you see (as the *Irishman* says) is Trees; runs very streight without Bays or Inlets, which makes it difficult to distinguish, and impossible for us to land safely at; the Surff breaking all along to a great height, by means of a continued Swell from a vast Southern Ocean; a Sea which the Natives only understand, and can push their Canoos through. This seems a natural Prohibition to Strangers, and whence it follows in respect to Trade, that Ships are obliged to send their Boats with Goods near Shore, where the Natives meet them, and barter for Slaves, Gold, and Ivory; for at many places a *Grandee Shippee* (as they call it) affrights them, and they will venture then, as I imagine they can swim.

2. The Ground is very tough, our Consort and we losing three Anchors in heaving a Purchase; we stopping at Nights for fear of over-shooting Places of Trade.

3. We find pretty equal Soundings, about 14 Fathom Water, a League from Shore, unless at one noted place, a *Lusus Naturæ*, called the *bottomless Pit*, 7 Leagues below *Jaque a Jaques*, where the Depth is all at once unfathomable, and about three Miles over.

The great Sir *Is. Newton*, in his calculating the Force of Gravity, says, Bodies decrease in their Weight, and Force of their

Cape Apol-
lonia.

Fall, in the Proportion of the Squares of Distance from the Center ; so that a Tun at the Surface of the Earth would weigh but $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Tun, removed one Semi-Diameter of the Earth higher ; and at three Semi-Diameters, but the $\frac{1}{16}$ of a Tun. In like manner their Velocities of Descent decrease : A Body at the Surface which would fall 16 foot in a Second, at 12000 Miles high, or three Semi-Diameters, would fall only $\frac{1}{16}$, or one Foot in a Second ; but at all given Distances, something, &c.

Now, according to this Rule, heaving a *Lead* in great depths of Water, the Velocity should increase with the descent or sinking of it ; since in the Progress of Gravity, the falling Body in every space of Time receives a new Impulse, and continually acting, the same Gravity super-adds a new Velocity ; so that at the end of two Seconds, to be double what it was at the end of the first, and so on ; which here the Weight of the super-incumbent Medium should still more accelerate. Yet a Lead-line is drawn out perceptibly slower at the second, than the first hundred Fathoms : But perhaps this proceeds from the increasing quantity of Line to be drawn with it, not so equally apt to demerge. and a *Nisus* in all Bodies of Water, from below upwards, contrary to Gravity.

4. The Winds were more Southerly *than above*, checking the Land-Breeze, which
ob-

obtaining brings strong unwholesome Smells from the *Mangroves*. CapeApollonia.

5. Their Diet being very slovenly, and much of a piece in this Track, I shall here entertain you with two or three of their Dishes.

Slabbersauce is made of Rice and Fish, a Fowl, a Kid, or Elephant's Flesh, the better for being on the stick. They boil this with a good quantity of *Ochre* and *Palm-Oil*, and is accounted a royal Feast.

A Dog is a Rarity with some : Our Master had a little Boy-Slave of eight years of Age, in exchange for one. At other Places, Monkeys are a very common Diet.

Bomini is Fish dried in the Sun without Salt ; stinking, they put it in a Frying-pan with *Palm-Oil*, then mixed with boiled Rice, snatch it up greedily with their Fingers.

Black Soupee is a favourite Dish, as well at our Factories, as among the *Negroes* ; we make it of Flesh or Fowl, stew'd sweet, with some uncommon tasted Herbs ; but the ascendant Taste is Pepper, *Ochre*, and *Palm-Oil*. At first I thought it disagreeable, but Custom reconciled it as the best in the Country : Men's way of Diet being certainly a principal Reason why in all places some of Land and Sea-animals are approved or rejected ; liked in one Country, and detested in another.

To return to *Jaque a Jaques* ; we met there the *Robert* of *Bristol*, Captain *Harding*,

CapeApol-
lonia.

who sailed from *Sierraleon* before us, having purchased thirty Slaves, whereof Captain *Tomba* mentioned there was one; he gave us the following melancholly Story. That this *Tomba*, about a Week before, had combined with three or four of the stoutest of his Country-men to kill the Ship's Company, and attempt their Escapes, while they had a Shore to fly to, and had near effected it by means of a Woman-Slave, who being more at large, was to watch the proper Opportunity. She brought him word one night that there were no more than five white Men upon the Deck, and they asleep, bringing him a Hammer at the same time (all the Weapons that she could find) to execute the Treachery. He encouraged the Accomplices what he could, with the Prospect of Liberty, but could now at the Push, engage only one more and the Woman to follow him upon Deck. He found three Sailors sleeping on the Fore-castle, two of which he presently dispatched, with single Strokes upon the Temples; the other rousing with the Noise, his Companions seized; *Tomba* coming soon to their Assistance, and murdering him in the same manner. Going after to finish the work, they found very luckily for the rest of the Company, that these other two of the Watch were with the Confusion already made awake, and upon their Guard, and their Defence soon awakened the Master underneath them, who running

up

up and finding his Men contending for their ^{Cape Apollonia.} Lives, took a Hand-spike, the first thing he met with in the Surprize, and redoubling his Strokes home upon *Tomba*, laid him at length flat upon the Deck, securing them all in Irons.

The Reader may be curious to know their Punishment: Why, Captain *Harding* weighing the Stoutness and Worth of the two Slaves, did, as in other Countries they do by Rogues of Dignity, whip and scarify them only; while three others, Abettors, but not Actors, nor of Strength for it, he sentenced to cruel Deaths; making them first eat the Heart and Liver of one of them killed. The Woman he hoisted up by the Thumbs, whipp'd, and slashed her with Knives, before the other Slaves till she died.

From this Ship we learned also, that the inland Country who had suffered by the *Panyarrs* of the *Cobelohou* and *Drewin* People, have lately been down, and destroyed the Towns, and the Trade is now at a stand; and perhaps the Consciousness of this Guilt increases their Fears of us. The Ceremony of contracting Friendship and Trade, is dropping a little salt-water into the Eye, or taking it into their Mouth, and spurting out again; which must be answer'd, or no Trade will follow.

At Cape *Apollonia*, the Natives are of a jet black, very lively and bold, accustomed to Trade, and better fetished than their Neighbours;

Cape Apollonia. bours; have cleaner and larger *Tomys*, wear Amber Beads, Copper Rings, Cowrys, and their Wooll twisted in numberless little Rings and Tufts, with bits of Shell, Straw, or Gold twisted in them. They have all a Dagger † cut in their Cheek, and often in other Parts of their Body: A Custom preserved among a few, down to the Gold Coast. The *Romans* and *Goths*, when possessed of *Barbary*, exempted the *Christians* from Tribute; and to know them, engraved a † upon their Cheeks; but this seems too distant for any Analogy with theirs. All we learn is, its being a very ancient Custom, and distinguishes them from the Country, who they *Panyarr* and sell for Slaves, naked at 4 oz. *per* Head; allowing 100 *per Cent.* on Goods, they cost at a medium 8*l.* Sterling. The *Cabiceers*, out of this, demand a due of 20*s.* and the *Palaaver-Man* 10*s.* whence I conjecture they are more regularly trained to *Panyarring* or thieving, than the Towns we have past.

There is a great deal of Ground cleared about this Cape, and sown with *Indian Corn*; first brought among the *Negroes*, it's said, by the *Portuguese*.



Cabo TRES PUNTAS.

WE stopped a few Hours at *Axim* in ^{Cabo Tres Puntas.} our Passage from *Apollonia*, and anchored here *June 7.* most Ships doing it for the Conveniency of watering, more difficultly supplied at any parts above. It is called *Three Points*, from that number of Headlands that jutt one without the other; within the innermost is a commodious Bay, nigh the watering-place. *John Conny*, who is the principal *Cabiceer*, exacts a Duty from all Ships, of an Ounce of Gold, for this Privilege; and sends off a Servant with his Commission, a large Gold-headed Cane, engraved *John Conny*, to demand it. Our Neglect herein, with some opprobrious Treatment of the Agent, occasioned *John Conny* next day to come down with a *Posse* and seize our Water-casks ashore, carrying away ten or a dozen of our Men Prisoners to his Town. The Officer among them endeavouring to distinguish to *John* the Difference of a King's Ship from others, got his Head broke: *John* (who understood *English* enough to swear) saying, by G— me King here, not only for my Water, but the Trouble has been given me in collecting it. Drink on, says he to the Sailors,

*Cabo Tres
Puntas.*

Sailors, (knocking out the Head of a Half-Anchor of Brandy,) and eat what my House affords; I know your part is to follow Orders. *John*, after some trouble in negotiating, accepted in recompence, six Ounces of Gold, and an Anchor of Brandy.

His Town stands about three Miles Westward of the watering-place; large, and as neatly raftered and built, as most of our North or West small Country Villages. Every Man his Coco-trees round the House, and in the Streets (such as they are) sit People to sell the Nuts, Limes, Soap, *Indian* Corn, and what is a great part of their Food, *Canky*, the Work of the Women. It is made of *Indian* Corn, after this manner; they pound it in a Mortar for some time, then malaxing it with Water and Palm-Wine, they grind it still finer with a Mull upon a great Stone, which every House almost has at the Door for that purpose; baked or boiled in Cakes, it makes a hearty and well-tasted Bread.

The *Danish* (or, as they say, the *Brandenburghers*) Fort was on an adjacent Hill, of four or five Bastions, and could mount fifty Guns. The Garison, when in being, probably taught the Natives the way of marketing, observed only where the Factories are; but being some few years since relinquished by them, it's now in *John Conny's* possession, and has raised up some Contests and *Palaa-vers* with the *Dutch*: for they pretending

a Title of Purchase, sent a Bomb-Vessel and two or three Frigates last Year, to demand a Surrendry; but *John* being a bold and subtle Fellow, weighing their Strength, answer'd, that he expected some Instrument should be shewed him to confirm the *Brandenburghers* Sale; and even with that (says he) I can see no Pretence but to the Guns, the Brick, and Stone of the Building, for the Ground was not theirs to dispose of. They have paid me Rent for it, (continues he) and since they have thought fit to remove, I do not design to tenant it out to any other white Men while I live. This sort of *Palaaver* nettled the *Dutch*; they threw in some Bombs and Shot; and heating more with Rage and Brandy, very rashly landed forty of their Men under the Command of a Lieutenant to attack the Town: They fired once without any Damage, and then *John* at the Head of his Men, rushing from under the Cover of the Houses, outnumbered and cut them in pieces; paving the entrance of his Palace soon after, with their Skulls.

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This Advantage made him very rusty, upon what he called his Dues from every body, tho' just in Trade; and when we had returned to a good Understanding, my self, with some other of our Officers paid him a Visit: Our landing was dangerous, the Southerly Winds making so great a Surff, nor could we do it by our own Boats, but Canoos of his sending,

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ing, paying an *Accy* for the Service; they count the Seas, and know when to paddle safely on or off. *John* himself stood on the Shore to receive us, attended with a Guard of twenty or thirty Men under bright Arms, who conducted us to his House; a Building pretty large, and raised from the Materials of the Fort. It ascends with a double Stone Stair-case without, of twelve Steps; on that Floor are three good Rooms; one his Armory, another his Chamber, with a standing Bed in it, and the third for Entertainment of Guests, furnished with Tables, Chairs, &c. We came to it thro' two Court yards; the outermost has Houses for Officers and Servants belonging to him, the inner (a spacious Square) has a Guard-Room and good Armory fronting the Entrance, with Piazzas to accommodate his Guard, and imitate in some measure the Grandeur he had observed in the *Prussian* Governours; *John* having been some Years a Servant with them, and thence had taken his Punctilio and Ceremony, and knew how to put on a significant Countenance. He is a strong-made Man, about fifty, of a sullen Look, and commands the Respect of being bare-headed, from all the *Negroes* about him *that are worth Caps*. To us he shewed very great Civility; we had returned his Salute of six Guns with * an equal

* General *Phips* at Cape *Corse*, was so nettled at this (he receiving but 19 for 21) that it took his Stomach off Victuals two or three Days.

equal Number, and made up the Breach of ^{Cabo Tres Puntas.} Watering, on his own terms ; things that pleased him, and he gave us leave to fish in a River on the back of his Town ; but returning with very little Success, which *John* could not foresee, we were disappointed of our Dinner, and had a hard Look into the Bargain, for he told us, this ill Luck was owing to our neglect of giving the Waters a *Dashee*, for it was a Grandee-man's + *Fetish*, he said, and deserved more notice ; however we got some *Canky-Bread*, salt Butter, Cheese, *Palm-Wine*, and Beer, served up with clean Plates, Knives, Napkins, &c. One of his Wives (for he seemed to have many) sat all the time he entertained us behind his Chair, big with Child, a clean Wrapper round her, and handsomely fetished ; both together, I believe, had in Gold Chains

For as in Fight the Gun or Drum
Will make the Warriour's Stomach come ;
So eke in Play ; if two miss Fire,
The Stomach palls with wax'ning Ire.

+ The Word *Fetish* is used in a double Signification among the *Negroes*: It is applied to Dress and Ornament, and to something revered as a Deity (a Lake, a Stone, a Tree, &c.) both so far agree, as to be regarded as a Charm. That by a Peculiarity, and this by some inherent Essence, can attract Good, or divert Evil. Here they sometimes hide the *Fetish* in secret parts of the Woods ; on urgent Occasions make a sort of Appeal to them, separating some the *Friday*, some the *Saturday*, and keep within doors the whole day, in a Moaning, or what you may call a Devotion to it.

about

Cabo Tres Puntas. about their Necks, their Wrists, Ancles and Legs, with the Drops in their Hair, to 8 or 10 *lib. Troy-Weight.*

Finding our Landlord cheerful and familiar, I ventured to ask him what was become of the *Dutchmen's* Skulls that lately paved the entrance of his House. He told me very frankly, that about a Month before our Ship's Arrival, he had put them all into a Chest with some Brandy, Pipes, and Tobacco, and buried them; for, says he, it is time that all Malice should depart, and the putting up a few Necessaries with the Corps, such as they loved, is our way of respecting the deceased. Among themselves, I learned it was customary with the Rich, to sacrifice a Slave or two also at their Funerals. The under Jaw-bones of these *Dutchmen* he shewed me strung, and hanging on a Tree in the Court-yard.

From this odd Ceremony in their Funerals, and what is above noted upon the Word *Fetish*, it looks as though there were some dark Notions of a future State among them, and an Expectance in it of Retribution.

It is impossible to expect in such a State of Nature as theirs, naked of Education and Science, that they should be able to form any refined Notions of a Deity; which, we experience among our selves, receives the Improvement with our growing Understanding, purely the Effect of Art and Study; the Philosopher

lofopher and Countryman being at as much distance in their Explanation of divine Points, as it is possible the Christian Sailor and the *Negro* can be. Let us imagine then, a part of our Species started up in the World, without knowing how or why, (the *Negroes* Case) and examine strictly in our own Thoughts, what religious Notions could be framed by them?

To me it appears, that their Appetites and Passions would have the first Regard; they are gnawing and troublesome, requiring immediate Care and Redress; and the Intervals from supplying them, it's very natural to suppose, would some of them be employed in ruminating upon their own Beings, in what manner, and to what end they were placed here; and on all those other Beings that surround them; the Consequence of which must be, Amazement and Wonder: And as they experienced Pain and Sickness, some things would terrify, and some please, according as they were persuaded they promoted or averted such Ill or Good. Now as the Understandings of Men, supposed as above, would be mean and low, not able to account for these Effects from their Causes, the natural Power and Tendency in this, to promote that: I say, not knowing this way of Induction, they will readily ascribe something *supernatural* to any Materials used about them; they may want the Word, but

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the Meaning would be confirmed in the use of a *Fetish*.

That this is not barely a Supposition, but an experienc'd Truth, is evident in the Condition, the Actions, and Manner of these poor People. They are set down as from the Clouds, without Guide, Letters, or any means of Cultivation to their better Part, but what immediately strike their Senses from beholding this Universe, and the Beings contained in it; their Deductions from whence, as to a Deity devoid of Matter, is next to impossible, therefore we say mean and pitiful. They can go no further without Learning, than concluding all things about them good or evil, to have a God or a Devil in it that immediately either benefits or hurts them; and thence their Worship.

That these People could arrive to better Knowledge by the use of proper Means and Instruction, there is no manner of doubt. They give proof enough that their natural Endowments are capable of following any Pattern; but as it is, their Actions demonstrate that the Soul wants a proper Nurture as well as the Body, and will hardly, without a Miracle, increase its Knowledge to any degree above what at present it appears; but when the Seeds and Principles are laid by letter'd Nations, it is not then nigh so difficult to improve. *They want all*, and their Un-

Understanding therefore in spiritual Matters Cabo Tres Puntas. is poor and naked, like their Bodies, which if they cannot provide of Necessaries with the Materials about them; how insuperable is the other, where all is out of sight?

To come to the point, the *Negroes* have chose *Woods, Lakes, Hills*, or a part of these, a *bundle of Chips, or Roots, a Stone, a piece of Metal*, or the like, for their *Fetishes*. Now what is more likely, or indeed grateful, than assigning a supernatural Power, and of course reverential Respects, to those very things they are immediately conversant with, and experience their Effects? For the Hill, the Wood or the Lake may afford Sustenance from time to time; perhaps in Extremity, either may have contributed to their Preservation or Defence from wild Beasts; or *Panyarring*, a more dreadful Evil. And others of them (for there are a great Diversity) have as a Charm, cured a Sickness, been propitious in their Journeys by Land or Water, in their Hunting, Fishing, or other Exercises; that is, they have been safe, they have observed, and protected from Danger, Distress, or Hurt, while they bore such a *Fetish* about them, or in the House, or Boat, they lodged or travelled in; which are the Reasons, and all the Reason they can give for their Choice. And some have descended from Father to Son with great Reputation, two, three, or more Generations, until the

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Puntas.

Proprietor could not observe any of the usual Effects, or was improsperous; and thus, whether he imputes it to the Age and Decay of the *Fetish*, I cannot tell; but he rejects it, and from some lucky Accident to him takes a newer, and consequently a better: Immemorial Custom giving strength to the Persuasion and the Practice.

Nor does this appear that unaccountable and ridiculous Folly some would have it. All material Beings are equally incomprehensible as to their Seed and real Essence; the Existence of a Straw as mysterious as the Existence of the Sun: *Quodcunque vides, Deus est*. No Man can comprehend how Matter came first into being, nor, which is nigher him, how the Atoms that compose a Stick, Stone, or Metal, are supported and hang together in that Bulk; or what diversifies them, that one should be fusible, another malleable, some both: I say, to consider these, and some other Attributes of Matter in the Essence, it will be impossible to explicate, without putting the Deity to it; and if infant Reason cannot reach above a material God, what I think would first and most naturally occur, would be the Objects about us, as they did us good or hurt, the *Fetishes* of the *Negroes*. The original Gods, obvious to the first and darker days of Reason, were in my opinion, *Stocks and Stones, Serpents, Calves, Onions, Garlick, &c.* Not that these things ap-

appeared to them in the exalted Attributes of Spirit, Creator, Omniscience, &c. then inconceivable: No; they only could observe, that all the parts of Nature were mysterious in their Essence and Operations, and therefore attracted their Esteem and Worship.

That the wiser Idolaters (as called) set up the Sun to worship, from the prodigious Advantages of Light and Life to the World, I take to be a Refinement on this ancients Heathen Mythology; an improved Understanding that perceived the Heavenly Bodies, the Sun in particular, to be the Source of all Benefit and Fertility to the Earth. That this was so, I am more inclined to think, from the ignorant and contrary Conclusions still made by many People born in more enlighten'd Countries, concerning the Influence and general Benignity of them. It is hard to persuade some of such universal Good, when they are evidently, they think, Sufferers in the failure of their Crops, Plagues, and Famine. Too much Rain or Sun-shine must ever have disturb'd some body, and mixed Murmur with Devotion, removed only, as Knowledge increased:

*The dripping Sailors curse the Rain,
For which poor Farmers pray in vain.*

Again, if we can think they have conceived any Notions of a future State, as is

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Puntas.

not improbable ; have a natural Affection or Respect ; the Custom was on neither account preposterous of *John Conny*, to bury Pipes, Tobacco, Brandy, or what else the deceased loved or wanted. It answers to the Pomp and Decency of our own Funerals, only more significant.

From the *Negroes* Religion, may be drawn these Observations. *First*, The Foundation of all Men's Religions is taken from this visible Universe, as ancient as the Creation. The greater Lights that have from time to time appeared in the World, are only Refinements and Superstructures upon this Prop ; first Milk, and then Meat.

2. The grossest Idolatries are not a proper Subject of Laughter : It is a case all Mankind seem bewilder'd in, some more grossly than others indeed, and bespeaks the Pity of greater Light and Knowledge.

3. The *Negroes* Ignorance of Good and Evil was equal, before their Acquaintance with us ; and as they are acknowledged to advance with greater pace in the latter, discerned between the trading and the country People brought down for Slaves ; the question might be ask'd, Whether ours or their own Religion contributes most to it ?

4. The essential Point in all, is to mend Men's Morals, to make them good and virtuous to their Neighbours, obedient to Superiours, and where it fails, the true Politician

can account it bad by whatever Name ^{Cabo Tres Puntas.} denominated. The Faiths that cannot produce good Works, are certainly faulty, and may be spiritualiz'd into Vapour and Shadow, as well as materializ'd into Drofs and Chaff.

Lastly, The Fear of the *Fetish* keeps them from injuring one another a little, that is, one another in the same Combination; but has little or no Influence in respect to us; whom they rob; cheat, or murder, as best answers their Conveniencies. They are like the Articles of Pyrates, which keep up a sort of Honesty among themselves, tho' they despoil every body else. *John Conny* is very upright and just himself in all Bargains; but then he does not want what the others are thieving; it is below his Game: rigorous also in exacting his Dues, or inflicting Punishments. There was a Murderer a few Weeks since, (we understood) whom *John* had condemned, altho' there were some Circumstances of excuse, (*a se defendendo*, which *John* did not understand) and made the Criminal's own Brother, one of his trustiest Servants to be the Executioner before his Face, by tying a vast great Stone like a *Mill-Stone* about his Neck, and throwing him into the Sea from a Canoo.

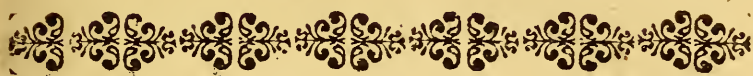
He has engrossed by his Riches and Power, the Trade of the Place; and by that means has reduced the Traders Profits to 20 *per Cent.* a Disadvantage they themselves have con-

Cabo Tres
Puntas.

tributed to in some measure, by underselling one another. His People allow less, for in the little Traffick they had with us, they paid all in *Crackra* Gold, not a quarter the value it was taken at. They are all marked with a Cross in their Cheek, unless *John Conny* himself (who told me it was only Ornament) and none are circumcised.

The Women *fetish* with a coarse Paint of Earth on their Faces, Shoulders and Breasts, each the Colour they like best. In Marriage the Husbands spend four Ounces of Gold more or less, according to their Ability, on her Friends and Acquaintance; who by this are brought together as Witnesses, that he may have redress in case of Adultery; a Crime for which the Transgressor becomes the injured Person's Slave. A Man likewise forfeits his Liberty for thievery among themselves; and Trade has so infected them with Covetousness and Fraud, that the Chiefs will put Snares both for the one and the other, driving at the Profit, and not the Punishment of a Crime.





Cabo C O R S O.

AT this Cape *Corso* on the Gold Coast, is *Cabo Corso*, the principal Fort and Factory of our *English* Company, to which their Ships constantly resort, and receive orders either by themselves, or with Supercargoes, where else to proceed.

The *Company* about this time of our Voyage had raised by Subscription 392400*l.* and in *December* 1722, made a Call of 5 *per Cent.* allowing the Proprietors, as had been accustomed, a Dividend of 3 *per Cent.* In *December* 1723, they exposed to Sale 200000*l.* Stock at 30 *per Cent.* which shewed their Affairs had an ill Aspect, notwithstanding their late Flourishes; confirmed next Winter, when they petitioned the Government (I find in a Pamphlet printed a few Years since) that they were undone, and the *African* Trade lost, unless they were impow-er'd to scheme it over again: The Projectors for the Company righteously proposed, that if the Legislature would give a Sanction, they would engage to raise the Stock-jobbing Humour, and raise a Million, whereof they would be liberal.

CaboCorso.

The Factory consists of Merchants, Factors, Writers, Miners, Artificers and Soldiers; and excepting the first Rank, who are the Council for managing Affairs, are all of them together a Company of white Negroes, who are entirely resigned to the Governour's Commands, according to the strictest Rules of Discipline and Subjection; are punished (Garison fashion) on several Defaults, with Mulcts, Confinement, the Dungeon, Drubbing, or the Wooden Horse; and for enduring this, they have each of them a Salary sufficient to buy *Canky*, *Palm-Oil*, and a little Fish to keep them from starving: for tho' the Salaries sound tolerably in *Leaden-hall-Street* (50 to 90 *l.* per *Ann.* a Factor; 50 an Artificer) yet in the Country here, the General (for the Company's good) pays them in *Crackra*, a false Money which is only current upon the spot, and disables them from taking any advantage of buying Necessaries from Ships coasting down. If the Subjects should have other, it's against the Interest of the Company to suffer its being laid out any where from themselves, because their Stock would by that means lie dead. So that for the Support of Nature, or perhaps indulging youthful Follies, these thin Creatures are obliged to take up of the Company, and in effect by it sign over their Liberty; none being admitted to depart, 'till he has adjusted all Accounts. When the Man

is too sober to run in Debt, there are Arts of ^{CaboCorso} Mismanagement, or loss of Goods under his Care, to be charged or wanting. Thus they are all liable to be mulcted for Drunkenness, Swearing, Neglects, and lying out of the Castle, even for not going to Church, (such is their Piety :) and thus by various arbitrary Methods, their Service is secured *durante bene placito*.

The same Method he takes with the Town Negroes, who, inconsiderate Wretches, are continually scoring up for Goods or Drams, and thus become *Pawns* to the Company, *i. e.* liable to be sold when the General thinks fit.

The Director-General is Supreme, or first Person in the Factory, at 2000 *l. per Ann.* Two other Merchants at 300 *l.* and a Secretary at 200 *l.* are what compose the Council for the Company's Affairs; send Factors to their outer Forts, and Supercargoes on board Vessels to collect the Trade, who are to transmit and make up their Accounts here. The General supports a Table for them; a *Chaplain and Surgeon, who have orderly Meals, without any idle Bottles.

Tho' the General has but one Vote in Business, yet it's tacitly consented, from his better Allowance and Power as Governour,

* Salaries 80 *l. per Ann.*

CaboCorfo. that he shall lead the others, who sign only for their Salaries: He therefore disposes solely of Preferments to the Factors and Writers, who, as they please or displease, may be continued at, or removed to their advantage. For, as on Service from the Fort they are allowed a Commission in Trade, additional to their Pay; so, in some of the outer Forts (such as *Accra*, or in a Ship) they make considerable Increase; while at others again, *Anamaboo*, or *Dixcove*, they find a great deal of Trouble, wet Lodging, Scarcity of Provision, and no Profit; and as these last outnumber the good, I observed most of our Factors to have dwindled much from the genteel Air they brought; wear no Cane nor Snuff-box, *idle in Men of Business*, have lank Bodies, a pale Visage, their Pockets fown up, or of no use, and their Tongues tied. One Cause of their Slenderness indeed, is a Scarcity of Provision; little besides Plantain, small Fish, *Indian Corn*, and a great deal of *Canky*, to be bought at Market.* Poor *T—d* was a Youth well recommended, and lived as long as he could. I had once some Business in his Office, when a

* Boiled by the Negroes to the bigness of half-penny Rolls, and an Accy purchases nine a day of them for a Month. The *English* bake it.

A lean Goat you may get by chance for five Accys; a *Muscovy* Duck, a Parrot, or couple of Chickens, for one.

Negro Woman came bawling about his Ears ^{CaboCorso} for a Plantain he had stole from her: He would feign have concealed the meaning of her Musick, but at length I understood it was the only Morsel he had eat for three days past; one night's Debauch, and several Mulâts having run him out of Pocket. The next Occasion I had of enquiring after him; I heard, that being too narrowly watched in this illegal Traffick, he pined with a Vacuum of the Guts, and died; leaving this Advice to his Countrymen, rather to run a remote hazard of being hanged at home, than chuse a Transfretation hither.

Another Instance how well they live, was the Captain of their Soldiers, in my time stealing away from the Castle in the night, to make his Escape on board a Brigantine going off the Coast; but, unlucky Gentleman, was chased and brought back by the *Weymouth* next day: The General, by *Cannon Law*, fined the Master of the Vessel, 70 Ounces for this Misdemeanour, besides corporal Punishment.

The General does not feel this Want, for altho' here be a Scarcity of neat Cattle, Kid, or Fowl, (no body having any besides himself) he supplies this Want from other Parts, by their own trading Vessels, and *Dashees* from Masters of Ships, and neighbouring Nations; and for Vegetables, he has a large Garden without the Castle, first planted by Sir *Dalby Thomas*.

CaboCorso. Thomas; a former Governour, abounding not only with their's; but Fruits of *English* Growth, and entirely for his own use. Of *Taggys*, a sweet Nut; they make Emulsions, and boil to a Custard.

Cromers grow in Pods like Peas, but larger, rounder, and full of little Seed; this, and *Tantarraboys*, a Fruit red and yellow, that grows wild, they put into their *black Soupee*, made here in the best and cleanest manner; washing the Palm-nuts with warm water, to bring away the Strings.

The General has taken a *Consa*, which by the *Negroes* is understood a temporary Wife, because she is not obliged to leave the Country, which is looked on as Slavery: She is a *Mulatto* Woman, begot by a *Dutch* Soldier at *Des Minas*; by whom he has four Children, of fair, flaxen Hair and Complexion. Her *Negro* Friends and Relations add Interest and Power to him, and he again can back their Injustice in the *Pawns* irregularly procured to the Garrison. He dotes on this Woman, whom he persuades now and then to our Chappel-Service; and she complies without Devotion, being a strict Adherer to the *Negrish* Customs. I attended the Illness of one of her Children; and afterwards on the General himself, who on both Occasions, I found, was so weak or so wise, as to give the preference of *Fetishing* to any Physical Directions of mine, wearing them on his
Wrists

Wrists and Neck. He was a Gentleman of *CaboCorso*. good Sense, yet could not help yielding to the silly Customs created by our Fears, and shews the Sway it bears in the Choice or Alteration of our Religion.

He cannot persuade this Woman to leave the Country, tho' he has stole or forced her Consent for all the Children, in regard to their Education; she still conforming to the Dress of her Country, being always barefoot and *fetished* with Chains and Gobbets of Gold, at her Ancles, her Wrists, and her Hair; to alter which in *England*, she thinks would sit awkward, and together with her Ignorance how to comport her self with new and strange Conversation, would in all likelihood alienate her Husband's Affections.

The General, besides being a kind Husband and Father, is a good Servant to the Company; assiduous and diligent, maintaining his Authority against the *Dutch* at *Des Minas*: Mr. *Butler*, the *Dutch* Director-General there, and he, having frequent Controversies and Demands upon one another; sometimes on account of pretended ill-usage to the Relations of his *Consa*, oftner upon Trade. Yet the Dignity he is to preserve in this petty Sovereignty, and the accustomed fawning Submission of the *Negroes* to it, has made his Carriage haughty towards all under him. He resides for ever within his Battlements; his Subjects and he resembling

Cabo Corso bling the Giant and enchanted Castle. He is seen no oftner than is necessary; and when he vouchsafes an Invitation to his Table, you must keep a good Look-out, or lose your Dinner; he never descending so much from *State* as to ask after you, tho' he knows there is no Victuals any where else. A Project indeed is lately set on foot, for the *Company's* importing *Irish* Beef and Pork, to be issued at 19 and 12 *lib.* an *Accy*, wished for by those who love their Meat without Sauce. I was six Weeks attending the Trials of the Pyrates at this Castle, and treated very civilly.

The Factory have every now and then a large Demand for Salt, made and brought hither from *Accra*. The Sale appears like a Fair in the Castle, and many of those *Negroes* whose Ivory or Gold would not purchase half a Bushel, I was told had travelled some hundred Miles; they chusing to go in Bodies when Seed-time is over, as a better Protection from wild Beasts, and their wilder Countrymen, who frequently make Incursions from several parts of the Coast, and sieze them for Slaves, when few and defenceless.

The Castle is a large Quadrangle, built by the *Portuguese*; for tho' the *French* first discovered this Part, their Civil Wars hindered Settlements first made by them; who erected Forts, from whom the *Dutch* seized their's, and we from them again. Vice-Admiral *Holmes* in 1664, after reducing *New-York*

York and *Long Island* from the *Dutch*, ^{CaboCorso.} coming here by order of the Duke of *York*, then Lord-Admiral, and dispossessing them of most Places; it certainly being as reasonable on our side as it was on their's; or more, because they would have excluded all others from the Trade, making Prize of our Ships, and imprisoning the Men. Admiral *Ruyter* seized them from us again the next Year, without Declaration of War, which engaged us to a Reprizal on their *Bourdeaux* Fleet. These Transactions, and the pressing Instances of the Parliament, who voted, the King should be addressed to redress the Wrongs and Injuries of the *Dutch* on our Trade in *Africa* and *India* to a vast Value, occasioned a War, which concluded with our Right of Privilege.

The Height of the Walls is the Strength of this Fort; sufficient against any *Negro* Power, as they lately experienced in an Attack the *Fantins* made upon the Castle's Dependants, who found their Security under the Walls; for here are some potent Neighbours, such as the Emperor of *Fantin*, the Kings of *Santie*, *Akim*, and *Aquemboe*, between whom and the Company's *Negroes*, happen frequent Occasions of Quarrel, from unwarrantable Practices in Trade. The common way to evade the Stroke, or push it in the Company's favour, is giving a *Dashee* of 5 or 600 *lib.* in Goods to one of them,

CaboCorso. to fall on the Adversary ; a Trick used alternately by the *Dutch*, and us also, to counterplot one another's Interests.

In the Area of this Quadrangle, are large Vaults, with an iron Grate at the Surface to let in Light and Air on those poor Wretches, the Slaves, who are chained and confined there till a Demand comes. They are all marked with a burning Iron upon the right Breast, *D. T. Duke of York*.

Tanks (Reservatories of Water) are in the Castle, vaulted and terrassed, capable of holding 100 Tuns or more : The Pavement leans from all parts towards them, to drain off the Rain ; Water being scarce in dry * Seasons, and great quantities wanted. There is only one, nasty, muddy Pond, of ill Taste, in the Neighbourhood, from whence Ships are supplied, swum off to the Boats with a great deal of trouble by the *Negroes*.

Within the Castle is a Smith's Shop, a Cooperage, Store-houses, a Chappel, and Houses for the Officers and Servants. The General's Lodging communicates with the Chappel ; a capacious Hall, which serves to preach and dine in, pray or drink, serve God or debate on Trade ; hence they can over-look what the Company's Servants are

* *Miscell. Curiosa*. Vol. iii. has a Journal of the Weather at *Cape Corso* for 12 Months, from Mr. *Hillier*, who says, that was a Year of the most Rain that could be remembred.

doing, and how comply with their respective Duties. A Bastion runs out from it that has a very pleasant Prospect to the Sea, discerning with a Glass the Ships coming down the Coast, and very distinctly all those in the Road at *Des Minas*.

Having done with the Factory and Castle at present, I come now to the Natives, who from a long Acquaintance with *Europeans*, are much the best *Negroes* of the whole Continent.

Their Houses are built of Mud, kept clean, many of them with Chairs or Stools, good Matts to lie down upon, earthen Pots and Pans, and several Changes of *Tomees* (Arse-Clouts.) They give Names to their Children, mostly by the days of the Week born on, *Quashee*, *Teday*, *Cunjo*, that is, *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tuesday*, &c. and at Manhood, change it to something expressive of their Disposition; *Aquerro Occu*, *Tocatee*, * *Tittwee*, like a Parrot, *Lion*, *Wolf*, &c.

* *Tittwees*, like a large Wolf or Mastive, very fierce, and rob their Towns in the Night, of what Kid or Poultry they find.

Tigers, not so adventurous, but are seen by them sometimes: There are two now in the Castle.

Serpents. I have heard the Gentlemen of the Factory say, they have been seen here 30 foot long, able to swallow a Child whole; (*Bosman* says, a Man, or a full-grown Deer.)

Deer. Those whose Feet are tipped, and used as Tobacco-Stoppers, are the bigness of a large Cat. The General had one in his Kitchen, the Feet as thick as the middle Finger; whence I judge, those very slender ones we see, are the Abortives of this Animal.

Cabo Corso. The same they do by white Men, imposing a Name of their own chusing.

Their Town is a little without the Castle-Gate, where the Women keep a Market with their *Canky*, Papais, Soap and Fish, such as Cavalloes, Bream, Cat-fish, &c. all small, but in tolerable plenty; there being out in the Road fishing, from 40 and 50, to 100 Canoos, when fine Weather.

These Market-Women have Scales, and weigh every *Toccu* of Gold-dust. A dozen Sticks of Wax, a couple Pounds of Loaf-Sugar, or two or three pieces of salt Beef, will be worth an *Accy*; our Crown an *Accy* and a half.

Such as are imployed with the *Smith*, or the *Cooper*, make presently good Workmen, and the *Negro* Goldsmith, with very little Instruction, has arrived to a good Skill in making Spoons, Buckles, Buttons, heading Canes, or tipping the Deers Feet.

Captain *Tom*, an honest Fellow among them (our Gold-taker) who, understanding a little *English* by being imployed in our Service, was a great Acquaintance of mine, and would, in the best manner he was able, always satisfy my Curiosity about the *Fetish*: He believes it able to protect from Dangers, or recover from Sicknefs; so that, in Travail, or any Ailment, they never are without the *Fetish* about them, whom they constantly *Dashee* for Health and Safety. *Tom* wore
his

his about the Leg, and at Sea, as constantly ^{CaboCorso.} as he had a Dram, a Glass of Wine, or any Victuals, he dipped his Finger and gave the *Fetish* a Taste. It's the general Belief that it both speaks and sees; wherefore on any Action that ought not to be done, the *Fetish* is hid within their *Tomee*, or wrapped in a Rag to prevent Tales. This Persuasion obtains by the Cunning of the *Fetish*-Man (or Priest) who is consulted with a Present always (a Bottle of Rum, a Goat, a Fowl, a Papa, according to the Importance of the Business, and Ability of the Person) on any Sickness, Business or Undertaking; and his Answers sway them to the Pursuance or Omission: If he says the thing shall succeed so and so, it commonly does; their natural Sagacity measuring out Consequences; and in Medicines or Charms, Experience pronounces tolerably on the Operation. The last Refuge of the *Fetish*-Man is, to charge the Person with some Crime that diverted the good Influence of the *Fetish*; and so fond are they of these Tutelar Deities, and credulous of the Intercourse between them and the *Fetish*-Man, that they are glad to accuse one another of Faults that made them unlucky; and if no Friend was Witness, do it themselves, to prevent the Displeasure might fall on them by any Contempt.

Every Man has two, three, or more *Fetishes* to his fancy; one worn about him, or in

Cabo Corso. his Canoo; the rest at home, bequeathing them, as they prove serviceable, from Father to Son. There is also at *Cabo Corso*, a publick *Fetish*, the Guardian of them all; and that is the Rock *Tabra*, a bluff peninsular Prominence that juts out from the Bottom of the Clift the Castle stands on, making a sort of Cover for Landing, but so unsafe, as frequently to expose the Boats and People to Danger, the Sea breaking over with great force. This was most remarkably felt by them about forty or fifty years ago, when all their Fishing Canoes, from some want of Devoir, were by a Southerly Wind split against Rock *Tabra*, and the Misfortune happening on a *Tuesday*, has ever since been set apart for Idleness, Dancing, and Diversion.

To this Rock, the *Fetish*-Man sacrifices annually a Goat and some Rum, eating and drinking a little himself, and throwing the rest into the Sea with odd Gestures and Invocations, he tells the Company, and they believe that he receives a verbal Answer from *Tabra*, what Seasons and Times will be propitious; and for this Knowledge every Fisherman finds it worth his while to *Dashee* him with some Acknowledgment.

They not only seem to think there is an Intelligence in those material Things that are of immediate Good or Hurt to them, but also the *Fetish*-Men to have Conversation, and by it to be acquainted with their
most

most private Affairs at any distance, which ^{CaboCorso.} preserves Awe and Regard.

Peter Anchicove, another Gold-taker of Cape *Corso*, assured me that being once at *Succonda*, a *Fetish*-Man met him, and demanded three *Accys*, which was given immediately on threatening: (the Gift on ordinary Occasions is less; a piece of Perpet, a Cap, a Fowl, or from a Market-Woman a Loaf of *Canky*.) And then he bid *Peter* leave the Voyage he was upon, and return home, for his Wife had in this Absence kept a scandalous Correspondence with several Men. Accordingly when he came home, he found it as the *Fetish*-Man had said, and a *Palaaver* being called, *Peter* recovered two Ounces of Gold Damage (the Punishment of Adultery) against one of the Offenders; an Ounce and a half of it to himself, the other half Ounce to the Court. The Penalty goes no farther, if the Woman be Daughter to a Freeman; for if the Cuckold is not contented, the Father takes her home on the acknowledgment of a Goat, or the like small Present, because it is his Loss: But if a purchased Slave is false, she is sold. When Proof is wanting, but the Suspicion strong, he brings an edible *Fetish*, which if she refuse to eat, she is adjudged guilty, and the dread of it's poisonous Quality, makes them often confess, to their Accusers Satisfaction; the certain Punishment

G 4

being

CaboCorso. being preferable to the doubtful Lethality of the *Fetish*.

The Men likewise, in this or notorious Crimes, go thro' such a Tryal, or compound rather by a Mulct, which better answers the Aim, and shews he is not stubborn and refractory*.

At *Accra* they have *Fetish*-Women also, so by Descent, who pretend Divination, give Answers to all Questions, and, like our Fortune-tellers, are continually bubbling the weaker.

Fetishes are sold, from an experienced Goodness in them, from two *Accys* to two *Bendees* a-piece, or as they are warranted to protect from this or that sort of Evil, or better than another can do it. They use Circumcision, Prayers, and Washings, and

* These sort of Tryals have much the same View with the *Water of Jealousy* among the *Jews*, or *Ordeal* with our *Saxon* Ancestors, that is, a Tryal by Fire or Water: The former was proving their Innocency by walking on hot Plough-Shears un-hurt: The latter was used hot or cold. They run their Arm into it scalding hot; or the Priest gave an Imprecation to a Draught of Holy-Water. The Person swore to his Innocence, and being tied Hands and Feet, was thrown into a River or Pond; if he sunk, he was adjudged innocent, if he floated, guilty: And these ways continued till K. Hen. III.

Another way with the *Saxons*, was single Combat; if a Woman, she appointed her Champion.

Another, since we are upon Tryal, was by two Ounces of Bread and Cheese taken after the Communion, the Priest thus imprecating; May it stick in your Throat, turn pale, your Limbs convulsed, &c. if guilty; but if innocent, may you swallow it easily, &c.

Rapin.
iccm

seem to have an obscure Notion of Futurity ; *CaboCorso* for when I used to charge my acquaintance with any thing of Dishonesty, they would reply, That after Death the honest goodee Man go to Godee, livee very well, have a goodee Wife, goodee Victuals, &c. but if a *Rogue* and *Cheatee*, he must be tossed here and there, never still. To this agrees the vulgar Notion of some, returning after Death to their own Country.

At a Death, the Relations and Neighbours keep a noise and howling till the day of Interrment, always at their own Houses, where the Corpse being put in a Trunk, and carried a small Circuit on Men's Heads, the Town's-Folks attend with wild Noise and firing of Guns, till finding the Deceased does not wake, they drink and make merry, and bury with the Corpse a Portion of Liquor, Pipes, &c. This done, a little Victuals is supplied by the Relations every day to the Grave, for a considerable time.

The superiour Genius of these Gold-Coast *Negroes*, is owing much to the Settlement of *European* Factories among them : Their greater Honesty toward us, first from Forts that awe them ; secondly, from their unwarrantable Practices with their Neighbours, who by *Panyarrs* and cheating for our good, are become perpetual Enemies, and fixed them by Interest and Necessity ours ; where the greater part of them find they can live better

Cabo Corso. better by Honesty than by being Thieves; they are under less Fear, and could not conceal any attempts of Fraud long. Honesty in all trading places is bottom'd upon this in the lower, and upon Interest in the higher Ranks of Men; if the former can provide themselves as well, or better, that is, with quieter Sleeps and less Anguish by being honest than Robbers; it is egregious Folly, abating the Crime, to forsake it: and when prosperous Events give Increase to Riches, it is Interest to allure others, a general Security lying in it. And they may, by the Influence of Example, and an open Behaviour, make particular Men so, that were not first in the Design. Few, I surmise, under the same Circumstances with the Wretches that at last go to the Gallows, but would have been there too, if Fortune had reversed their Situation; those that can rob under no Necessity, we may be sure would.

Thirdly, altho' Christianity is not concerned in the Question with these *Negroes*, I am apt to think, *European* Conversation has given them the Intimation of the Word *Godee*, (for so they express the tremendous Name) and another State, which, if beyond their Comprehension, and the Instruction hitherto had, may yet have advantaged the Reverence to *Fetishes*; which, if it answers in the cultivating Virtue, and mending their Morals, is no silly thing.

The



*The Coast from Cabo C O R S O to
W H Y D A H.*

FROM *Cabo Corso* we made short Stops The Coast from Cabo Corso to Whydah. in our Passage, at *Anamaboe, Montford, Barku, Shallo, Accra, R. Volta, the Papan* Coast, and arrived at *Whydah* July 4; where we made a stay of three Weeks.

At *Anamaboo* our private Ships finish their Slaving, few or none being got downward, till you reach *Whydah*.

At *Montford, Shallo*, and thereabouts, they make up the Deficiency of Rice and Corn for the Voyage, the Country appearing fruitful, and with better Aspect than any of those we have passed to Windward, intermixed with Hills and Vales; at every League almost, a Town; many Corn-fields, Salt-pans and other Marks of Industry, particularly about *Accra*, which shews they are extricated out of those Difficulties with their Neighbours behind them, that the manner of pursuing the Slave-Trade exposes others too.

At *Accra*, we, the *French*, and *Dutch*, have each a Factory and Fort, and make there great quantities of Salt, supplied to Windward, and to the inland Provinces, where it is always a precious Commodity.

Before

The Coast
from Cabo
Corso to
Whydah.

Before we reach hither, we pass by a considerable high Mount, which *Anchecove* says, he has seen smoke like a *Volcano*; from whence, and being the Haunt of rapacious wild Beasts, they have borrowed the Name, and call it *Devils Hill*; but the most danger to Travellers, is from a prodigious number of *Apes* (some 5 foot long) and *Monkeys* that inhabit it, who will attack single Passengers, and drive them for Refuge into the Water, of which these Creatures are very fearful. At some Places the *Negroes* have been suspected of Bestiality with them, and by the Boldness and Affection they are known under some Circumstances to express to our Females; the Ignorance and Stupidity on the other side, to guide or controul Lust; but more from the near resemblances are sometimes met to the Human Species, would tempt one to suspect the Fact: Altho' by the way, this, like other *Hebridous* Productions, could never go no farther; and as such a monstrous Generation would be more casual and subject to Fatality, the Case must be uncommon and rare. Our Carpenter got one on board from these parts, as near the likeness of a Child, without being one, as perhaps was ever seen; a flat and smooth Visage, little Hair, no Tail, would taste nothing but Milk, or Gruel sweetned, and that with difficulty; moaning continually in a tone like an Infant; in short,

short, the Moans and Aspect were so shocking and melancholly, that after two or three Months keeping, it was stunn'd and thrown over-board. The Coast from Cabo Corso to Whydah.

The *Ourang Outang*, taken now and then at some parts of *Guinea*, and at the Island of *Borneo* in *East-India*, has been thought a human Savage. Captain *Flower* brought home one from *Angola*, in 1733, disembowelled and preserved in Rum: It lived a few months with him, had a smooth Visage, little Hair, Genitals like the Human, with Testicles outside; would frequently walk on it's hind Legs voluntarily; would sit down in a Chair to sip or drink, in the same manner they did; always slept sitting, with his Hands upon his Shoulders; not mischievous like others, and had his Hands, Feet, and Nails, more resembling ours.

The *River Volta* is remarkable for the Rapidity of its Stream, making a very great Sea upon the Bar, and carrying it self off for some way unmixed; at two Leagues, it's only brackish. From hence begins the *Papau Coast*, low and woody.

The whole Track from *Sierraleon*, is without Gulphs or Bays, of near an equal depth of Water at the same distances; little Elevation, except at great Rivers where the Tides are regular, as with us at home; seldom without Breezes; when a Storm or Tornado happens, they are always off Shore.

No

*The Coast
from Cabo
Corso to
Whydah.*

No Dews perceptible on board Ships in the Nights, tho' large at Shore, and a constant misty Horizon. Captain *Dampier* observes the same near Shores, on the Western side of *America*: *It is always hazy*, says he, *nigh Land, to 20 degr. of Latitude.*



W H Y D A H.

Whydah. **T**HIS Country is governed by an absolute King, who lives in *Negrish* Majesty at a Town called *Sabbee*, six Miles from the Sea. His Palace is a dirty, large *Bamboo* Building, of a Mile or two round, wherein he keeps near a thousand Women, and divides his time in an indolent manner, between Eating and Lust; he is fatned to a monstrous Bulk; never has been out since he became King (nigh twelve years) which some say, is because a large *Dole* being due to the People on the Demise of one, and the Accession and first Appearance of another new Prince, his Covetousness keeps him within doors: Others, that there is a Sword wanted (the Emblem of his Power) which should, but is not yet delivered him, by some grand *Fetish*-Man beyond *Jaqueen*. If any Subjects want Audience, they ring a Bell to give notice; and if admitted, must

prof-

prostrate before him, as likewise to his grand ^{Whydah.} *Fetish-Man*, or High-Priest, if present. The same Humility and Subjection is required of Inferiours to rich and powerful Men, without doors: They prostrate to as many as they meet of these in the Street, and stir not till a Sign is given to get up; so that the meanest may sometimes be two or three hours walking the length of the Town.

White People are seldom or never admitted to Presence, but at the times they pay their Customs; very considerable from *Europeans*, who drive here the greatest Slave-Trade of any on the whole Continent: Besides these Dues, the King augments his Revenue by a Duty on every thing bought or sold by his People. To his Women, he gives entirely the Privilege of making and selling a Beer brewed from *Indian Corn*, pretty much in use here, called *Putto*.

The King of *Ardra* is his potent and warlike Neighbour; a populous Country, full of large *Crooms* or Towns, and all of them obsequious Slaves, who dare not sell or buy any thing without Licence, and both ways he exacts a Custom. It is by means of this Country that so great a number of Slaves are brought down to *Whydah* and sold to the *Europeans* naked; the Arse-clouts they had, I fancy, having been the Plunder of the Populace: for altho' they are kept strictly under, in respect to the Great-ones among them-

Whydah. themselves, they have in recompence, a thievish, unlicensed Behaviour to others.

Both Sexes squat when they make water, and the Women may obtain a *Palaaver* and Fine against any Man, who at such time should indecently discover his Privities.

Travelling is in *Hammocks, called here *Serpentines*; they are with Curtains to draw round, against Heat or Flies, slung cross a Pole and bore up at each end by a *Negro*, two others attending in the Journey, to relieve alternately: The Heat makes it dangerous for *Englishmen* to travel without them, and they are hired at six Shillings a day.

Provisions are plentiful above any place on the whole Coast, but neither very cheap nor large. A Cow of 300 *lib.* weight is reckoned a fine Beast, and will sell for two *grand Quibesses*; a Calf of 80 *lib.* weight for one *grand Quibess*; a Sheep of 12 *lib.* for eight *Galinas*; Fowls, five for a Crown; a Dozen Wild-fowl, or a Hog, for the same Money: but it's convenient on this Voyage always to provide *Cowrys* or *Booges* (little *Indian* Shells, called in *England* Blackamoors Teeth, bought at 1 *s.* and sold here at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* per *lib.*) as the readiest for this sort of Traffick. Coin is the dearest way of buying, at distance from *Europe*.

* *Hæmac* is a *Brazil* word, and signifies a Net slung to rest in; made there from the Rind of a Tree.

Whydah Currency.

40 Cowrys make a *Toccy*.

5 *Toccys* — a *Gallina*.

20 *Gallinas* — a *Grand Quibess*, which
answers to 25 Shillings.

Horses, are what I never saw any where
else on the Continent.

The most curious of their Customs, and
peculiar to this Part, is their *Snake-Worship*,
which, according to my Intelligence, is as
follows. This *Snake*, the Object of their
Worship, is common in the Fields, and che-
rished as a familiar Domestick in their Houses,
called *Deyboys*; they are yellow, and mar-
bled here and there, have a narrow Swallow,
but dilatable (as all of the Serpent Kind are)
to the thickness of your Arm on feeding. - It
is the principal Deity or *Fetish* of the Coun-
try, and brought into more Regularity
than others, by the superiour Cunning of
their *Fetishers*, who have one presiding o-
ver them, called the grand *Fetisher*, or
High-Priest, who is held in equal Reverence
with the King himself; nay, sometimes more,
through gross Superstition and Fear: for they
believe an Intercourse with the Snake, to
whom they have dedicated their Service, ca-
pacitates them to stop or promote the Plagues
that infest them. He hath the craft by this

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means,

Whydah. means, to humble the King himself on all occasions for their Service, and to drain both him and the People, in supplying their Wants. It is Death for a Native to kill one of these Snakes, and severe Punishments to *Europeans*. When Rains are wanted at Seed-time, or dry Weather in Harvest, the People do not stir out after it is night, for fear of the angry Snake, which, provoked with their Disobedience, they are taught, will certainly kill them at those times, if abroad, or render them Ideots.

They have *Fetish*-Women, or Priestesses, that live separated with a number of Virgins under their Care, devoted to the Snake's Service: I have heard, the rich *Cabiceers* do often buy the Consent of these Women to debauch their Pupils; they pretend to the Girls, they have had some late Correspondence with the Snake, who intimates the agreeableness of her favouring such or such a Man's Addresses; teach her to act Fits and Distortions at the sight of him, to enhance the Price, and that for this Compliance, she shall be amply rewarded in the Snake's Country, far pleasanter than this she breaths in, and he then more amiable, having here put on his worst Shape, that Obedience might have the more Merit. A Discovery in the Girl would be certain Death, and none would believe; or if they did, would dare
openly

openly to assert such Murder against the Aff-^{Whydah.}sertion of the *Fetish*-Men or Women.

It is probable that King *Solomon's* Navy of *Tharshish* (1 *Kings* i. 10.) did coast from *Ezriom Geber* (the bottom of the red Sea) round Cape *Bon Esperance* “* to *Sofala*, by some thought *Ophir*; and if so, why not to the Gold-Coast? or that King *Hiram's* Navy from *Tyre*, might on the North and Western side together have encompassed this Continent; tho' afterwards, on the destruction of each State, the Navigation might be lost with the Trade. This is probable, I say, from the length of the Voyage (three years) no unreasonable time in the infancy of Sailing, Ignorance of the Compass, and dilatory Methods of Trading in Fleets, and in their Returns, Gold, Ivory, and Apes. The Peacocks mentioned in this Text, might possibly be the *Crown-Birds*; beautiful, of the same bigness, and a greater Rarity. One of them we had from *Gambia* (a Present to the Duke of *Chandos*) had a fine Tuft of stiff speckled Feathers on the Head; the Wings, red, yellow, white and black, with a black Down on the fore-part of it's Head.

Granting this, whether or no it's too foreign to imagine, some traditional Story might be derived from them concerning the

* *Milton*. B. 10, & 11.

Whydah. old Serpent, the Deceiver of Mankind? or that fiery one lifted up by *Moses* in the Wilderness? *Gordon* in his *Geography*, p. 327, says, the *Mosaical* Law was once introduced into some parts of *Negro-land*, strengthened by the Affinity of some Names and Customs they retain with the *Jews*, particularly Circumcision, practised at most, if not all parts of the Coast. *Bosman* on this, says even Girls have their Clitoris stripp'd. The *Egyptians* (on this their own Continent,) were the first we read of that circumcised, from whom *Abraham* borrowed it, and the Patriarchs Posterity might as well have transmitted the use of it with their Trade, to this opposite side of *Africa*; the only Objections are, the easier Method of borrowing it from the *Mallays*, black *Turks* that inhabit about the middle of *Africa*, with whom they communicate by Trade; and because the Practice here, like as with the *Mahometans*, is not taken up of Precept, but Tradition. Be it how it will, they are found tenacious of their Customs and Opinions: A Woman, from whose greater Flexibility and Subjection as a *Consa* to any *European*, might be expected a Change, never relinquishing her Country-Gods, tho' she had cohabited for years, as has been frequently tried at our Factories.

Others think this Snake-Worship might be taken up as of old the *Egyptians* did their

their Ox and Cow, their Crocodile and Cat, ^{Whydah.} &c. They had some moral Reason, tho' overwhelmed in Fable and ridiculous Superstition. The Ox and Cow were Emblems of Tillage, taught to them by *Osiris* and *Isis*, whom they feigned changed into those Creatures, and in that form worshipped them.

The Crocodile and Cat preyed upon those Reptiles that devoured the Fruits of their Husbandry, like as these very Snakes are said to kill the black and poisonous sort, and to destroy various Species of Vermin, injurious to their Fields and Grain.

We bear (far from *Egypt*) a *Reverence* to many Creatures, Beasts and Birds; eat some, and cherish others; I believe, often on no other Foundation than Heathen Fable. The *Fetish* is this Reverence improved, and if we laugh at * *Sambo* for inflicting Fine or Death on whoever hurts or kills the Snake, may not he in his turn, as justly laugh to hear that in some Countries it is Death to steal a Sheep, a Horse, &c. or Penalties to kill Pidgeons, Wild-fowl, &c. tho' never so much in want of them: For it is all according to the Fashion of the Country, and doubtless proceeds from a *profound Veneration* to those Creatures.

* A *Negrish* Name.

Whydah.

Many and ridiculous are the Stories formed upon the Foundation of the Snake, over-acted to the Prejudice of Beliefs, which in unletter'd Countries should be short, and have the Design and Import of Laws; such Laws as in their nature are best fitted to awe or persuade Men into the Practice of what is good: but here they are multiplied with silly Circumstances, or stretch beyond Memory, and spoil their Use; for which reason, I am firmly of opinion the Snake-Worship will never endanger our Factories, or propagate far, it has made such Rogues of them.

Besides the Snake, they have two other principal Deities, and other small *Fetishes*. The former are their *Groves*, and the high *Sea*; addressing either upon the Peculiarity, I suppose, of their Affairs, or rather, these Groves are consecrated to the Snake, most of them having a square Tower built in a retired part of it, to which they carry *Dashes*, and Presents. There is one in this Neighbourhood pre-eminent to all in the Country, and to which the Prince and People annually make rich Offerings.

Their smaller *Fetishes*, like as at other parts, are numberless, and for smaller Concerns made of Stone, Bone, Wood, or Earth; but herein they differ from others, that this small *Fetish* is the first thing they see, after they are determined upon some
Affair

Affair or Business, and sometimes deter-^{Whydah.} mines them to that *Affair*, whence it is taken up and invoked: If the *Business* ends luckily, it is laid by in honour to the chief Idol, and *dasheed* now and then; but if not, they throw it away.

I should have done now with *Whydah*, but the surprizing *Revolution* brought about here in 1727, by the victorious King of *Danbomay*, turning things-top-sy turvy, and entirely destroying our Slave-Trade, deserves some Remarks.

This Prince was probably incited to the Conquest from the generous Motive of redeeming his own, and the neighbouring Country People from those cruel Wars, and Slavery that was continually imposed on them by these Snakes and the King of *Ar-dra*; each helped the other to propagate the Mischief far and wide, and differ'd between themselves, only in sharing the Booty. That this spurred on their Catastrophe, I think, *First*, Because it is agreeable to Capt. *Snelgrave's* Character of that King, a Gentleman well acquainted with that part of *Guinea*, and who has given the latest Account of those People: He says in that Tract, he made a Journey in company with some of the *English* Factory to the Camp of the King of *Danbomay* (40 or 50 miles up the Country,) and informs us, " that in the Conversation and Business " he had to transact, he had experienced

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" him

Whydah. “ him just and generous; in his Manners,
 “ nothing barbarous, but contrarily, the
 “ most extraordinary Man of his Colour.”
 The natural Consequence from such Qualities
 in a Prince, being, I think, to extend them
 towards all that are oppressed, and against
 those in particular, his Resentments were
 fired: *First*, on account of their publick
 Robberies, and Man-stealing, even to his
 Dominions; and *Secondly*, That Contempt
 the King of *Whydah* had expressed towards
 him, saying publickly, “ *that if the King of*
 “ *Dauhomay should invade him, he would*
 “ *not cut off his Head* (the Custom of
 “ Conquerors) *but keep him alive, to serve*
 “ *in the vilest Offices:*” a Specimen both
 of his Vanity and Courage, which he had
 soon after Occasion to try; and then in-
 stead of the haughty Revenge he purposed,
 dastardly deserted his Kingdom, he and the
 Subjects of *Ardra* becoming in a few days
 miserable Fugitives.

2. The King of *Dauhomay* at this Inter-
 view with Captain *Snelgrave*, which was
 after the Conquest of *Ardra* and *Whydah*,
 agrees with him in the Character of these
 Enemies: “ *That they were Villains to both*
 “ *white and black People, and therefore had*
 “ *been punished by his hands;*” a Text that
 ought to have been regarded more heedfully
 by the Factory than it was: For what were
 they Villains more than others of the Co-
 lour,

lour, unless for this illegal and unjust Trade? Whydah.

And if he himself declared his Victories in punishment of their Crimes, what might not they expect in their turn, who differed only as the Pawnbroker and the Thief? Mr. *Testesole*, the Company's Governour, we find when Opportunity presented, was seized by them, and cruelly sacrificed: "The Crime
" alledged being, that he had used the *Dahomes* on all Occasions in his power, very
" ill, on account of the bad Trade they had
" occasioned:" and afterwards they went on, surprized and plundered all the *European* Merchants at *Faqueen*, finishing in that, the Destruction of the Slave-trade, the little remaining being now at *Appah*, a place beyond the bounds of his Conquest. Yet in all this, could we separate our Idea of the Sufferers, and the temporary Views of Traders; the King's Actions carry great Reputation, for by the destruction of this Trade, he relinquished his own private Interests for the sake of publick Justice and Humanity.

Lastly, that this destruction of the Trade was designed in the King of *Dauhoday's* Conquest, seems confirmed by Captain *Bulfinch Lamb's* Proposal from him to our Court.

This Gentleman, on some Business of the Factory, was at *Ardra* when the *Dahomes* came down upon them, was made a Prisoner, detained near four years with the Emperor,
and

Whydah. and came to *England* at last by his Permission or rather Direction, having given him 320 Ounces of Gold, and 80 Slaves to bear his Charges. In his Scheme of Trade, said to be proposed from that Emperor and laid before our Commissioners of Trade, some of the Articles run thus;—*That the Natives would sell themselves to us, on condition of not being carried off.*—*That we might settle Plantations, &c.* a Foundation quite foreign to the former Slave-trade, and carried no Temptation but the empty one of Instruction and Conversion, which he himself might have laid down there, and had given some room to expect, agreeably to the Judgment he made of the King's Sentiments, and his own view of getting away; an additional Honour to the King in this way of thinking indeed; “but the Inconsistency made it unsuccessful,” and Captain *Lamb*, tho’ under a solemn Promise to return, never gave any Account of his Embassy to that Prince.

Captain *Snelgrave*'s Account leads me still a little farther, on his suggesting these conquering *Dahomes* to be Men-eaters; I beg an Animadversion or two on that Head.—Common Report has settled *Cannibals* at several parts of *Africa*. *Dapper* in the *Geographical Atlas* says, the *Ausicans* or *Gales* in *Æthiopia*, and many of the Natives of *Quiloa*, *Melinda*, and *Mombaza*, on the East

East side of *Africa* are such, and that human Flesh is sold in the Shambles. *Gordon*, in his *Geographical Grammar*, conveys it modestly as a *Report*, that the Kingdom of *Loango* in South-*Africa* has many Cannibals, and that human Flesh in several places is sold publickly in the Shambles, as we do Beef and Mutton. That the *Cassres*, (tho' abounding with Provisions) also are such, and will eat *even nasty Hottentots their Neighbours*; who tho' accounted the most brutish People upon the Globe in their Manners and Feeding, are at the same time excused by all Travellers so inhuman a Custom. *Bosman* reports the same of *Drewin*. The Observation I shall make on these and the like Stories I have heard from other parts of the World, is their being reported of Countries remote from our Correspondence, abounding with Provisions, by Persons who never were in the Places they relate their Wonders; or where they have, their Testimony is on hear-say, or their Reasons inconclusive, and against later Experience. I am prejudiced indeed against the Opinion of Cannibals, and very much doubt whether there be any such Men on the face of the Earth, unless when provoked by Famine, as has unfortunately happened in Voyages: Or possibly with Savages, single Instances may have been, as their way to express an intense Malice against a particular Enemy,

Whydah. Enemy, and *in terrorem*; or to cement with a Bond of Secrecy some very wicked Societies of Men: but that there should be a common Practice of it, Nations of Men-eaters, to me looks at present impossible. Captain *Snelgrave's* being the newest Account of this Affair, and on his own personal Knowledge, I shall amuse the Reader with a short Extract from him, and then my Objections.

“ This Gentleman, by an Invitation from
 „ the King of *Dahome* or *Dauhoday*, went
 “ in company with some other of the Factory from *Faqueen*, to pay him a Visit at
 “ his Camp, 40 miles inland; there he was
 “ an Eye-witness of their human Sacrifices,
 “ *Captives* from the Kingdoms of *Ardra*,
 “ *Whydah*, *Tuffoe*, and other Conquests:
 “ *the King chose them out himself*. The
 “ first Victim I saw, says he, was a *well-*
 “ *looking Man*, of 50 or 60, his Hands tied,
 “ he stood upright by a Stage five foot from
 “ the Ground. The *Fetisher* or Priest laying
 “ his Hand on the Head, said some
 “ Words of Consecration for about two
 “ Minutes; then giving the Sign, one behind
 “ with a broad Sword hit on the Nape
 “ of his Neck, and carried off the Head at
 “ one Blow, the Rabble giving a Shout.
 “ *Others of these Captives he made his Servants,*
 “ *or sold for Slaves.*—

The Story thus far is not over-marvellous ; ^{Whydah.} whether the Sacrifices be considered as a Thanksgiving to their *Fetish*, or God (*as an Acknowledgment, he was told*) or an Honour to the *Manes* of his deceased Heroes, because such Practice is supported both by Scripture and History. The Captives in War under the *Jewish* Law, which fell to the Lord's Share, were to be slain (*Levit. xxvii. v. 28, 29.*) and the Custom of many *Pagan* Countries has been, and still continues in many parts of the World to this day (if we may credit History or Travellers) to attend the Obsequies of their Princes and great Men with human Sacrifices, particularly at some parts of *Guinea*. The Emperor of *Feton's* Funeral (*Miscell. Curiosa, Vol. 3. p. 356.*) was accompanied with a great number, and remarkably barbarous. *Montezuma*, (*Antonio Solis* says,) sacrificed 20000 Enemies a year. The present *Dahomes* follow it from political Principles, to awe the Conquered, and secure the Conquest ; for *the captive King was always one*, and next him the Men of Experience and Influence, such as already had, or were most likely to disturb his future Peace ; answering more justly than that Argument *à posteriori*, of the Bow-string or Halter, when Men rise for the Recovery of a lost Country, &c.

Whydah. Contending Princes do to this day frequently sacrifice with less honourable Views, if we may credit Captain *Gulliver*, who says, one King has lost his Life, another the Crown, only in a Contest about the primitive way of breaking Eggs.

I say this is not so over-marvellous; but when we come to the Carcasses of these Men, how the *Dahomes* had made a Festival of their Flesh in the night, it swells to Incredibility. “ Captain *Snelgrave* was not
“ an Eye-witness of this indeed; he says, the
“ Bodies lay a little while on the ground to
“ drain the Blood, and then were carried by
“ Slaves to a place nigh the Camp, and laid in
“ a Heap; he saw two of these Heaps over
“ night, containing he judged about 400,
“ who had been chose out by the King that
“ Morning, for Sacrifice. On the next Mor-
“ ning they were gone, and asking the Lin-
“ guist what had become of them, he an-
“ swered, the *Vulturs* (ravenous Birds very
“ plentiful in the Country) had eaten them.
“ Not satisfied with this Answer, (seeing
“ nothing remain but Blood) we asked for
“ the Bones, and then he confessed, the
“ Priest had divided the Carcasses among the
“ People in the night, who had boiled and
“ feasted on them, as holy Food; the Head
“ is for the King, (continues the Linguist)
“ the Blood for the *Fetish*, and the Body for
“ the common People.”

I make no doubt of the truth of this ^{Whydah.} Relation, and yet think the Circumstances not conclusive enough, to charge the *Dahomes* as *Anthropophagites*.

1. Because the truth depends too much on the Linguist, (*Butteno*, a *Negro* of Mr. *Lamb's*, brought up at the Factory) how well he knew to render the Language to our Ideas: and to his Veracity and his Courage. He might think with his Country-men that it was their best Excuse to the white People, for that cowardly and ignominious Flight of Thousands from 200 of the *Dahomes* at *Sabbee* (the *Whydah's* head City) where, instead of eating them, they pretended a Fright of being eat, and with the King, took precipitately to their heels, deserting in a shameful manner their Country: and makes something like the Story of our *Saracens* Heads of old; when the *English* had been threshed heartily for their silly Croisade, they represented their Adversaries thus large, to insinuate none but Monsters or Devils could have done it. However the Linguist tells his Masters first, that the *Vulturs* had eaten those Bodies, but perceiving them diffident of this, and prone to another Persuasion (which, by the way, is some excuse for him) he tells them frankly, *that the People had eaten them in the night*, &c. The Bones, which were wanting, and that had drawn this Secret from him, are to me a Confirmation that they were buried.

Other-

Whydah. Otherways, as these Cormorants could not chew or digest them, they should have been found strewed somewhere, as the Roads were in his Journey : The Fellow might also in his turn propose some advantage in this Belief; for Captain *Snelgrave* tells us, he met with great Impositions and Cheats at his return to *Faqueen*, by the Lord there, and others in Trade, notwithstanding the kind Reception he had met with at Camp, and that King's Charge to the contrary.

2. A *Portuguese* who resided there, that spoke their Language, and which is very remarkable, *had married a woolly white Woman born of black Parents, who had never seen any other Colour: this Gentleman talked highly of the King's Policy and Generosity* that his Sacrifices were a Proof of it; that he was just, strictly obeyed, and never eat any human Flesh. If so, according to my way of thinking, he would hinder so barbarous a Custom in others his Subjects; or it would be a Contradiction to his Character, a Sufferance being the same, as doing it himself.

3. If the Sacrifices were designed for eating, one would think they should have been all young People, not thrown in a Heap which is an Objection to their spending well and now and then I should have expected they would have been prompted by Novelty to have tasted a white Man: but it is the King's Character of being far from barbarous

barous, and of delicate Wit and Policy: ^{Whydah;} *Lamb* lived three years and a half with them, and never was eat.

4. If Men were thus eat, and liked by a *Nation*, there would be less occasion and Inclination to sell them us for Slaves; they at least must lose a Breakfast by it now and then; and it would fall heavier on such Captives they had made their Servants, (for some were made so at the same time the others were sacrificed) who I am in some doubt whether they would wait tamely for the turn of having their Throats cut. This Man-Eating therefore probably might be an Imposition on the Credulity of the Whites; as the Persuasion amongst some of them is, that they are bought by us to fat and eat: the Belief in my opinion is equally grounded. Theirs (if any) is better; for the next Cruelty to buying human Flesh, one would naturally think, should be to eat it; especially with Negroes, who cannot conceive how their Labour can be used, that want so little for their own support.

5. Some Places reported on the Coast to be Men-Eaters are by latest Accounts much doubted, if not contradicted. At *Loango* they are found with better Manners, and mixed with *Portuguese*. At Cape *St. Mary's*, the Starboard Entrance of the River *Gambia*, generally said to be Men-Eaters, were found by our Boat's Crew as civilized

Whydah. as any People on the whole Coast, tho' their Number expos'd them an easy Prey. To this we may add, that all *Negroland*, by the Observations I could make, are very abstemious of Flesh in comparison of us; they have very few tame Creatures (Kid, Sheep, Kine, &c.) among them; their Country is mostly Woods cleared away a little at their Cooms, to sow as much *Indian* Corn and Rice as they imagine will serve them; which, with Banana's, Plantanes, Palm-Nuts, Pine-Apples, and now and then a little stinking Fish, or a Fowl, is the chief of their Diet.

6. As Slave-Cargoes are a Compound of different Nations, it is more than probable they are mixed from these Men-eating Countries; and therefore on their rising and murdering a Ship's Company, they would have shewn us e'er now a Precedent, especially those who believed we were to eat them.

7. Men in this horrid Practice would, with the distinguishing Characteristick of Reason about them, be more brutish than any part of the Creation; no Creatures of the greatest Ferocity preying upon their own Species.

8. If such Custom were taken up to intimidate their Neighbours, and facilitate Conquests, the Practice should be more publick; not in the Night, but Day, and openly: Custom in any People familiarizing all Barbarities, and more so, when an Interest is propos'd.

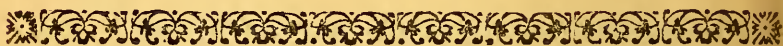
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Therefore, lastly, the strongest Proof produced for it is, that one Mr. *More* saw human Flesh sold at Dahome's Market-place.

If the Person mentioned does not mean human Flesh alive, and in way of Trade, yet without a good interior Sight, he might mistake it for that of Monkeys, there being an awkward Resemblance to *the Moorish Race*, in the Hands and Phiz; and I have given one Example purposely, among many (at the beginning of this Chapter) to shew they are a common Diet at some places; our Sailors frequently eat them. What inclines me more to this Opinion is, *First*, the Force of Prepossession and Fear, which many Readers may experience in their own Constitution. *Second*, That I never saw a Flesh-Market of any sort, tho' I have been on shore at many places on the Coast of *Guinea*, not even among the *English*, the most carnivorous in the World; but when they do kill, lend it out. *Thirdly*, What is my greatest Objection, is, that the Captain should bring another to assert what he might have done himself, since he was at *Dahome's* Camp, (the same place,) and more inquisitive and discerning; unless this Market was kept one Voyage, and not another.

I have bestowed these Objections, purely in respect to the King of *Dahomay*, whom, tho' I never saw, nor expect to be advanced in his Court, I have a natural Propensity to

Currents. with well, *since he has redeemed his Country-Men from being sold as Slaves.* I would feign, after such an Action, excuse them from being Men-eaters; a Change full as bad for the People, a jumping out of the Frying-pan into the Fire. Their Guilt herein is less likely, because it happens that this conquered Country abounds more with Neat Cattle, than all other parts of the Coast.



Currents on the Coast of GUINEA.

THE incomparable Sir *Isaac Newton* solves all the Phænomena of the Tides upon the sole Principle of Gravity. The Earth, Sun, Moon, and all the celestial Bodies, says he, have a Gravitation towards their Centers, in proportion to the quantitys of Matter in each of them. Our Earth being within the Activity of the Sun and Moon's Attractions; the fluid part of this Globe, the Ocean, feels it, and necessarily swells: and this, by taking off or abating the force of Gravity, wherever the Moon is perpendicular in the Ecliptick; whereby the greater Pressure of Gravity without, carries the Water thitherward, &c. (See the Theory of the Tides, *Philos. Transact.*) Currents seem to be the same thing (at least on this Coast) and on

on the same Principle I shall lay down the ^{Currents} Facts, and then draw the Conclusions.

The Rivers of *Gambia*, *Sierraleon*, *Gabon*, the Straits and Channels of *Benin*, and thro' the whole Coast, the flowings are regular on the Shores, with this difference, that in Rivers or Channels where two Shores contract the Waters into a narrow Compass, the Tides are strong and high, as well as regular; but on the dead Coast, flow and low, not to above two or three foot, increasing as you advance towards the Bay and Channels of *Benin*; and this is farther evident at Cape *Corso*, *Succonda*, *Commenda*, and other places: for wherever the Land rounds and cheques, the Flowings there will be a Foot or two more than on an even Coast, tho' next adjoining.

The Currents here set sometimes two knots an hour along Shore, sometimes with, sometimes against the Wind; tho' generally to Leeward; sometimes off, sometimes on, rippling like a Tide, at other times a smooth unmoved Surface for days together, and never felt, or imperceptible at 8 or 10 Leagues Offing.

The Currents set in on both Shores, to the Bay of *Benin*; from the Southward, about and beyond Cape *Lopez*; and from the Westward along the *Papau* Coast, that is, to Leeward; for the Winds are as commonly deflected along Shore, as the Currents. This all Ships experience in their Passage to *Angola*, if they hold

Currents. hold the Land on board, or if they endeavour getting Westward on the *Papau* or Gold Coast.

The reason of this Diversity, I imagine, proceeds from the Formation of the Land, together with the Weather, and the Winds.

The Land being on a strait Line, without Gulphs or Bays, unless that remarkably large one of *Benin* and *Callabar*, the Flux of the Sea, when it comes to be bounded by the Shores, have a natural Tendency there, seen in growing stronger as they advance towards it on both sides; because such Gulphs, in a Contraction of the Waters, bear some Resemblance to Channels, which every where in proportion to their Breadth and Depth, and the Sea they stand open with, have more or less Current or Tide along their Shores inward; assisted partly by the Winds, which, as I have observed, are deflected, and tend also on both sides towards the Bay; and partly, by the Weather; clear and hot Sunshines drawing more Vapours from the Seas *next Shores* in all places, (and especially in Bays with Shoals) to be expended in Exhalations, Mists, Fogs, and Rains; the Rains again may, by being incessant for a Month or six Weeks, and in a Rotation upon different parts of the Coast, contribute to some little diversity of Strength.

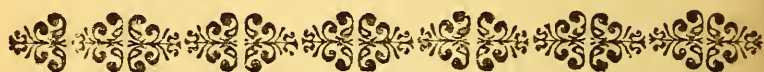
Another reason of Currents tending mostly to Leeward here, is the Flood being propagated

gated from a vast Southern Ocean, takes it's ^{Currents.} Course along Shore; but the Ebbs revert easily and equally from all parts to the Ocean, and therefore make so little an Alteration of the Stream, as is seldom and scarcely felt at a very little distance from it. The most that we found was open with this Bite of *Benin*. We left *Whydah* the latter end of *July*, where tho' the Currents in the Road were very strong to Leeward, and the Winds altogether S. W. yet we found we could with ease have weathered any of the Islands; which would have been impossible, had the same Current in the Road extended across the whole Bay; nay, our getting so far to the Southward (*i. e.* Windward) will be very difficult to account for, unless the Waters received into this Bay by those Currents are allowed to reverberate in the middle Space, tho' insensibly, towards the main Ocean.

From these light Observations, I think it may be concluded, *First*, that in all Places, Currents and Tides have a very great affinity. That it is principally the Formation of the Lands drives them into the one or the other; if contracted between two Shores so as to form a Channel, the diurnal Elevation of the Ocean, by the Attraction of the Moon, will make there a Tide, rapid in proportion to it's Breadth, Depth, and Sea it is open to: And if an open Coast, as *Guinea*, those Tides become Currents. This agrees with the Voyages

Currents. I have met to those Parts, and particularly the sixth general one set forth by the *India* Company of that Channel, made by the Eastern side of the Continent, and the Island of *Madagascar*; for being too deep and broad for the Direction of a Tide, *there are Northern and Southern Currents*, as the elevated Sea rowls round the North or South end of the Island: and which is still more agreeable, *they are strongest where the Channel is narrowest, and less, and vary on different Points of the Compass, as the Sea spreads more in the Passage cross the Line.*

2. That all Currents and Tides are found only on Shores, and indiscernible at 10 Leagues distance from a Coast, or the Mouth of any Channel; are also variable from the same Influence of the Moon, and Change of Weather.



R A I N S.

Rains. **T**HERE is a Return of Vernal and Autumnal Rains through the whole Coast. The former, whether on this or the other side the Equator, are longer and more incessant. They begin on this side at *Sierraleon*, in *May*; at the Gold Coast and *Whydah*, in *April*, preceded by S. and S. E. Winds. On the

the other side the Line again, the Vernal ^{Rains.} Rains fall at Cape *Lopez*, in *October*; at *Angola* in *November*, &c. And as these Seasons are attended with the Interposition of Clouds thro' both, the Air is cooler, and therefore by the stewed Inhabitants denominated Winter.

What conduces to such annual and regular Returns, is perhaps inscrutable: It is only a general Observation, that the Sun, on or nigh the *Æquinox*, inclines to rain every where. Dr. *Clayton* says, (*Philos. Trans.*) that there are frequent and great Rains at *Virginia* in *April* and *September*, and other Countries observe the same. The ultimate end is to embrace the Land with Fertility, where the Inhabitants have Sense and Willingness to co-operate with Providence.

At Cape *Corso* this year, they ceased the end of *May*; they had fell, we understood, for six Weeks before, almost without intermission, only some hours they were heavier, and chiefly in the Nights, with continued Thunder, Lightning, and Calms. Whenever they felt a Breeze, it was Southerly, (directly upon the Land) the Clouds that contained the Rains succeeding one another from the Ocean, as it were orderly. If the Horizon brightened as it does by Spirits at these Seasons, the Sun is felt with redoubled Heat and Fervour.

Rains.

* The Mist and Haziness of the Horizon (always on the Coast) and those great Dews which out of the rainy Seasons fall every night on the Shore, and rarely or never two Miles from it where the Ships anchor, are corroborating Proofs of what is just before hinted under the Article of Currents, that the Vapours supplying these, or Rains, are extracted from Coasts and Shallows more abundantly than from the main Ocean ; which would otherways be seen and felt, and in greater measure at Sea, from so large a Body of Waters surrounding ; but is so far from happening, that *Exhalations of all sorts diminish, as is the Distance from Land.*

Again, the Winds from Sea, which are the Winds that usher in these Rains, are known to spring up but a few Leagues from Shore ; (the *Trade* obtaining in all these Latitudes :) and tho' I say, any regular Periods of it under this Vicinity of the Sun all the year may be inscrutable, yet when they do come, they visibly bring on the Land-Clouds loaded with aqueous Vapors ; a more rarified Air there naturally attracting them, and helping their fall.

Both Ships came to Isle *Del Principe* the end of *July*, 1721. where we felt dreadful Effects from the excessive Heats and Irregu-

* See the Appendix to the *Navy-Surgeon*, in which are Physical Observations on the Moisture and Density of the Air.

larity of the Seamen, during our *Careening*; ^{Del Prin-} for although we arrived very healthy, the ^{cipe.} Island furnishing *Palm-Wines* and the means of debauching at easy Rates, and our Tents giving opportunity; they soon run into Excess, which brought on an epidemical malignant Fever, that reduced us in a short Stay of two Months, to some Deliberations whether we could proceed to Sea safely without a return of Men from *England*; the *Weymouth* not being able to purchase her Anchors, and we in the *Swallow* with difficulty. My Judgment, as Surgeon, was by all means to go, tho' in the most sickly Condition, because thus removed from the chief Causes of our Misfortune (Calms, excessive Heats, and a disorderly Living) whoever were visited with the Distemper, would by that method find a Crisis in Recovery or Death, and stop the infection: We therefore, with the Assistance of some Men from a *Dutch East-India* Ship that happened to put in, got under Sail and left the Island; the effect I have related elsewhere more at large, and shall only observe here, that our Fevers for want of Necessaries turned in many to Fluxes, and pursued us, tho' with less Cruelty. The *Weymouth*, who brought out of *England* a Complement of 240 Men, having at the end of the Voyage 280 dead upon her Books.

Princes was the Birth-place of *Africanus* and *Moulee*, of whom they give this tragical

Del Prin-
cipe.

cal Relation ; That she becoming a Favourite of her Patron, was forced from *Africanus*, and having a Child whose Complexion betray'd the true Father, *Africanus* murdered both, and afterwards himself, to avoid Punishment.

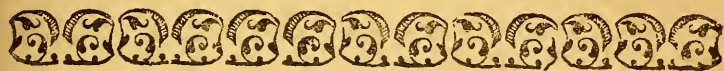
We touched at **St. Thome*, the chief of these *Portuguese* Islands for fresh Provisions, purchased cheap ; the Profit of half a dozen Hogs fed two or three Months, and sold at the Gold Coast, will maintain the *best* Mefs in a Ship a whole year.

It was lucky for Mr. *Rowry*, Master of a *Bristol* Vessel, that the Man of War came in ; his Men had made him Prisoner, and were disposing of the Slaves at a very easy Rate with the Governor, who rejects no Schemes of Profit. *Rowry*, who had been discountenanced by him upon his Men's Complaints, was now heard indeed ; but not knowing *rightly* the Method of getting Men to bring away his Brigantine in our Company, he was obliged to take what Price the Governor would set on her and her Cargo, and took Passage with us for *Cape Corso* ; where, upon Demand, he accompanied his Leave with a handsome Acknowledgment for his Diet, and went home with the Account.

We regained the Gold Coast in fifteen days

* There is a square Fort on the Larboard Point of the Bay, and Anchorings about a League from it.

from this Island, having met in the Passage ^{Winds.} some Sprinklings that we understood had been heavy showers on Shore.



W I N D S.

THE Winds, different from our Quarter of the World, in these Voyages are either peculiar to warm Latitudes; such are *Trade-Winds*, *Land and Sea Breezes*; or to the Coast, *Tornadoes*, and *Air-Mat-tans*.

Trade-Winds are easterly, blow fresh night and day, all the Year, and every where round the Globe; that Part of it I mean that we are upon, the Ocean, whether *Atlantick*, *Indian*, or *American*: for the Soil and Position of Lands, though the same Cause of them subsists more powerfully, gives uncertain and various Deflections. They will extend to 30°° of N. Latitude, when the Sun is on this side the Equator, and as far S. when on the other; deflecting where he is farthest off, (here to the N. E. there to the S. E.) and always nearest to the E. Point on the Equinoctial, or where he is vertical.

The general Causes assigned by the Ingenious for these Phenomena, and with the greatest Probability of Truth, are;

First,

Winds.

First, the daily Rotation of the Earth Eastward upon its Axis, whereby the Air or Wind (the enforced Stream of it) by this means goes Westward in respect of the Superficies; and this is farther countenanced in that these Winds are found only in the largest Circles, where the diurnal Motion is swiftest; and *also because they blow as strong in the Night as Day; hence, on the Coast of Brasil, as near Guinea.*

The *second* permanent Cause of this Effect, the ingenious Dr. *Halley* ascribes to the Action of the Sun-beams upon the Air and Water every day, considered together with the Nature of the Soil, and Situation of the adjoining Continents.

The Sun heats and rarefies the Air exceedingly, in all Latitudes within the *Zodiack*, (evident from the anhelous Condition it subjects most Animals to in Calms) and therefore the Air from Latitudes more *without* his Influence (as more ponderous) presses in, to restore the Equilibrium: and to follow the Sun, must come from the Eastward. The westerly Winds that restore this Balance, from Latitudes beyond the Tropicks, would, I fancy, be as constant, and keep a Circulation, were the whole a Globe of Waters: As it is, they are from 30 to 60°, abundantly the most predominant, with a Deviation to N. or S. on various Accidents: blow with more force, because, among other Reasons,

sons, the Equilibrium is restored to a greater ^{Winds.} from a lesser Circle; and as it were to confirm this, are received into the Trade-wind, with a Deflection of N. E. or more northward at the Point of reception.

On the Coast of *Guinea*, North of the Equinoctial, the true Winds are westerly, keeping a Track with the Shore, where it trenches all eastward. From the River *Gabon* again, under the Line, the Land stretches to the Southward, and, exactly answerable thereto, the Winds wheel from S. E. to S. by E. to keep nigh a Parallel with it; in both, the Shore seems to deflect the true *Trade*, in the same manner Capes do Tides or Currents, and obliges it, like them, on that Point where they have the freest Passage. If at any particular Seasons (as in the Rains is remarked) the Winds become more southerly, and set full upon the Shore, they are weak; and as the Sun is at such time on this side the Equinoctial, it is probably to restore an Equilibrium to that Air at land, more rarefied from a stronger and more reflected Heat.

I shall give two or three other Remarks on Trade-winds, proper, tho' made at other Periods of the Voyage.

1. You must be distant from the Influence of Land to Windward, before the *Trade* blows true and fresh, (from this Coast we may suppose twenty or thirty Leagues) and then

Winds. then a Ship bound to *America* will make a constant and smooth Run of forty or fifty Leagues every twenty-four Hours. And as there are no Storms, vast numbers of flying Fish sporting near the Ship, (*found every where within the Verge of these Winds, and no where else that ever I saw,*) Bone-toes pursuing them; with Birds of various sorts, *Garnets, Boobys, Tropick-Birds,* and *Sheerwaters*, it makes a very delightful sailing.

2. Although the N. E. and S. E. Trade-Winds on this and that side the *Line*, do not blow adverse, yet by approaching to it, are in my Thoughts, the Occasion of becalming the Latitudes between 4 and 12° N, the Point of Contest; as we found, and will be hereafter remarked in our Passage from *Brasil* to the *West-Indies*, in *July* and *August*: and this I think, *First*, because the East southerly Trade is known ordinarily to extend E. S. E. to 4° of Northern Latitude: and consequently, as the East northerly is bounded a little nearer or further from the Equinoctial, as is the Station of the Sun; Calms and small Breezes, the Attendant of them, may vary a little, yet they will always happen about these Latitudes, and near the windward Shores be attended with Thunder, Lightning, and perpetual Rains. *Secondly*, all Ships actually find this in their Passage from *Guinea* to the *West-Indies* in
any

any Month, or from *England* thither; the ^{Winds.} true Trade decreasing as they approach those Latitudes, and up between *Cape Verd* and the Islands, those Calms by all our Navigators are said to be as constantly attended with Rains and Thunder.

Thirdly, Because the same thing happens at the Commencement of the *Trade*, from the variable Winds in 27 or 28° of Northern Latitude, sooner or later as I observed is the Station of the Sun: From all which I would infer, that from *Guinea* these calm Latitudes are easier passed, not nigh, but within 100 Leagues of the Continent of *Africa*, and at *America* not to get into them till a Ship has nigh run her Distance; for the Land, I think, either to Windward or Leeward does give a better Advantage to the Breezes, than nearer or more remote: Ships from *England* do not want this Caution so much, because the N. E. *Trade* does not fail till a little beyond the Parallel of *Barbadoes*, the Southermost of our Islands.

Land and Sea-Breezes are Gales of no great Extent, the former much fainter and inconstant will blow off an Island to a Roadsted, be on which side of it you will, but whether at the same time or no, or now here, now there, I am not experienced enough to say, tho' their Weakness and Inconstancy makes either way defensible. - - They are found at all shores within or near the Tropicks,

Winds.

picks, the Sea-breeze coming in about ten in the morning, fresh and sweet, enlivening every thing. The Land-breeze when it does succeed, is at the same distance from Sun-set or later, small, sultry, and stinking, especially when from Rivers whose Banks are pestered with rotten *Mangroves*, stagnating Waters, &c.

They seem to arise entirely from the *Heat of the Sun-beams*: That the Air is more rarified by their Reflections on the solid Body of the Earth than on a fluid, is certain; therefore till their rarified Air, made so by three or four hours Sun, is brought to an Equilibrium, the Breezes must be from the Sea at all parts of the Coast, because at all parts, the same Cause is operating. And if this Rarefaction is limited by a determined height of the Atmosphere, the Sea-breezes that are to fill up the Vacuities will last a determined time only; *two, three, or more hours*: this is fact, but whether properly solved, must be submitted. Of affinity with this are the frequent Breezes we find with meridian Suns at shores, even to the Latitude of *England*, tho' very still before and after. Again, the Land-breezes which succeed at night when the Sun has lost it's Power, seem by their Weakness to be the return of Air heaped up by the preceding day's Heat, like other Fluids when higher or fuller from any Cause (in one part than another)

of

of course has it's reflux to make an even ^{Winds.} Surface.

Tornadoes, by the *Spaniard* called *Trava-*
does, are in no part of the World so frequent
as at *Guinea*. They are fierce and violent
Gusts of Wind that give warning for some
hours by a gradual lowering and blackening
of the Sky to Windward whence they come,
accompanied with Darkness, terrible Shocks
of Thunder and Lightning, and end in Rains
and Calm. They are always *off shore*, be-
tween the N. and N.E. here, and more Eas-
terly at the *Bites of Benin, Calabar, and*
Cape Lopez; but although they are attended
with this favourable Property of blowing
from the shore, and last only three or four
hours, yet Ships immediately at the appear-
ance of them furl all their Sails and drive be-
fore the Wind.

We have sometimes met with these *Tor-*
nadoes two in a day, often one; and to shew
within what a narrow Compass their effects
are, Ships have felt one, when others at ten
Leagues distance have known nothing: Nay,
at *Anamaboo* (3 or 4 Leagues off) they have
had serene Weather while we have suffered
under a *Tornado* in *Cape Corso* Road. And
vice versa. A Proof of what Naturalists con-
jecture, that no Thunder is heard above 30
Miles; in these Storms it seems to be very near,
one we felt the Afternoon of taking *Roberts*
the Pyrate, that seemed like the ratling of

Winds.

10000 small Arms within three yards of our Heads; it split our Maintop-Mast, and ended as usual in excessive Showers, and then calm; the nearness is judged by the Sound instantly following the Flash. Lightning is common here at other times, especially with the shutting in of Evening, and flashes perpendicularly as well as horizontally.

Both arise from a plenty of nitrous and sulphurous Exhalations that make a Compound like Gun-powder, set on fire in the Air; and if the Clouds that retain them be compact, and their heterogeneous Contents strong, various, and unequal, then like a Cannon in proportion to these, the dissection is with more or less Violence, producing Thunder, which as with a * Shot has frequently split the Masts of Ships; and strengthens the above Observation of *their being discharged near hand*; because if at any considerable distance, they would spread in the Explosion, and lose their Force. It furnishes also another, *viz.* That neither Thunder nor Lightning can be felt or heard far from shores; Winds may impel such Exhalations something, but at a hundred Leagues from any Land

*Some pretend to have found what they call a material Thunder-bolt; such a one is said to have fell on the *Turkish Mosque* at *Adrianople* A. D. 1693; and such are shewn in the *Museums* of Princes. At *Copenhagen* they have a large piece of metallick Substance, said to be Thunder-bolt.

the Appearance must be rare and uncommon, because the matter of their Compound cannot be collected there. Winds.

Air-mattans, or *Harmatans*, are impetuous Gales of Wind from the Eastern Quarter about *Midsummer* and *Christmas*; they are attended with Fogs, last three or four hours, (seldom with Thunder or Lightning, as the *Tornados*) and cease with the Rain; are very dry, shriveling up Paper, Parchment, or Panels of Escritores like a Fire. They reach sometimes this Gold Coast, but are frequentest and in a manner peculiar to the Bite of *Benin*, named so some think from *Aer Mountain*, respecting whence they come; or by others *Mattan*, the *Negrish* Word for a pair of Bellows, which they having seen, compare this Wind to.



The GUINEA Trade.

AN extensive Trade, in a moral Sense, is *The Guinea Trade* an extensive Evil, obvious to those who can see how Fraud, Thieving, and Executions have kept pace with it. The great Excess in Branches feeding Pride and Luxury, are an Oppression on the Publick; and the Peculiarity of it in this, and the Settlement

The Guinea Trade. of Colonies are Infringements on the Peace and Happiness of Mankind.

By discoursing on this particular Branch, I do not pretend to a Sufficiency of giving full Directions; the Natives Alteration and Diversity of Taste are Obstacles with the most experienced: It's only within my Design to give a general Insight to such as are Strangers, and a Rule to improve upon by such as are not.

We may for this end divide *Guinea* into a windward Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Bay, a Tract of 6 or 700 Leagues from the River *Gambia*, in 13° N. to *Angola*, about 9 or 10° S. The *Portuguese* were the first *Europeans* that settled and built Forts here, tho' now the least concerned, paying their Tribute to the *Dutch* for Leave: What remains of theirs is to the Southward on the River *Congo* at *Loangode St. Paul*, and the Islands, where they keep Priests to teach their Language to the Natives, and baptize without making Christians.

1. In the windward Coast, *Gambia*, *Sieraleon*, and *Sherbro* Rivers may be reckoned chief; the *African* Company having Factors and Settlements there. Less noted, but more frequented by private Ships in this part of *Guinea*, are Cape *Mont*, and *Montzerado*, *Sesthos* River, Capes *Palmas*, *Apollonia*, and *Tres Puntas*. A number of others intervene, of more or less Trade; which it is their Custom

Custom to signify at the sight of any Ship ^{The Guinea} by a Smoke, and is always looked on as an ^{Trade.} Invitation to Trade; but as each is alterable among them from the Chance of War, the Omission shews they decline it, or are out of Stock.

This Change of Circumstance found on different Voyages, proceeds from weak and bad Governments among themselves, every Town having their own *Cabiceers* or ruling Men, (or it may be three or four in Confederacy) all so jealous of the others *Panyarring*, that they never care to walk even a mile or two from home without Fire-Arms; each knows it is their Villanies and Robberies upon one another that enables them to carry on a Slave-trade with *Europeans*; and as Strength fluctuates, it is not unfrequent for him who sells you Slaves to-day, to be a few days hence sold himself at some neighbouring Town; this I have known.

The same way of reasoning answers for the *Panyarrs* and Murders so frequently between them and us, and never that I heard with the *French* or *Portuguese*. For if any of our Ships from *Bristol* or *Liverpool* play tricks, and under pretence of Traffick seize and carry away such of them as come on board, and trust themselves on that Confidence, the Friends and Relations never fail with the first Opportunity to revenge it; they never consider the Innocence of who comes next,

*The Guinea
Trade.*

but as Relations in Colour, *Panyarr* the Boat's Crews who trust themselves foolishly on shore, and now and then by dissembling a Friendship, have come on board, surprized and murdered a whole Ship's Company. Captain *Piercy's* Lieutenant was killed on shore on some such Pretence, or because he had a good Suit of Cloaths, or both. Captain *Canning* of the *Dove* Brigantine 1732, was cut off by the Natives of *Grand Bassau* from an Inadvertency; first, of tempting the *Negroes* with the sight of a fine Cargo, and then by trusting the Mate Mr. *Tho. Coote* on shore; the one prompted them to rob, and the other was an Hostage for their Security, they ventured off in their Canoes and murdered all the Company under the Conduct of a Fellow they called *Thomas Grey*, who run the Vessel in shore; the Mate remained with them unhurt, about sixteen days, and was then redeemed by Captain *Wheeler* for 17 Pounds worth of Goods, which as an Encouragement to the Service, he was suffered to repay at *London*. His Food during the stay, was *Indian* Corn, Rice, Snails and Monkeys; the last they shoot as often as they want, in the Woods, and after the Guts are taken out, singe the Hair off, and then boil it in the Skin. He saw no other Flesh in this part of the Country, excepting a few Fowls, tho' he was up it above twelve miles.

2. The Gold Coast is the middle and smallest part of the Division, stretching from *Axiem* a Dutch Settlement, to near the River *Volta*, an extent of 70 or 80 Leagues, but of more consequence than the others, in respect to our's and the Dutch Company's Forts, who together command the greatest part of it. There is one *Danish* Fort at *Accra* indeed, (the Leewardmost of our Settlements) but in a decaying State, and will probably (as that of the *Brandenburghers* at *Cape Tres Puntas*) be relinquished in a little time.

The Guinea Trade.

Our Company's principal Fort is at *Cape Corso*. That of the *Dutch*, two or three Leagues above, called *Des Minas* or *St. George de Elmina*; each has other little ones up and down this Coast, to gather in the Trade that centers for the respective Companies, at one or other of the aforesaid larger Forts.

The *African* Company was erected under the Duke of *York* in K. *Charles II*'s Time, and therefore *Royal*; the Epithet being still retained, tho' that Prince's Superstition, and Thirst after Power, have long since justly banish'd him the Realm.

In it's first flourishing Condition, it was allowed by authentick Accounts to have gained annually to *England* 900,000 *l.* whereof in Teeth, Camwood, Wax and Gold, was only 100,000 *l.* and the rest in Slaves; which in the Infancy of their Trade were in very great demand over all the *American* Plantations to supply their own wants, and carry on a clandestine

*The Guinea
Trade.*

destine Commerce with the *Spanish West-Indies*. On Computation, *Barbadoes* wanted annually 4000 *Negroes*, *Jamaica* 10000, *Leeward Islands* 6000; and because the Company (twas complained by such as wished them ill Success) could not supply this Number, having only imported 46396 Slaves between the years 1680 and 1688; Interlopers crept in, and contended for a Share; which the *Company* represented as contrary to the Privileges of their Patent, and withal, that the Accusation was groundless and unjust, because they did supply enough for demand, and maintained Forts and Garisons at a great Charge, for awing and subjecting the Natives to trade, and maintaining an Industry equal to the *Dutch*, without which it was plain to all impartial Considerers, it would be but very difficultly carried on. However, their Adversaries, after some years of grumbling, obtained an Act of Parliament 1697, whereby private Traders for making good this deficiency of Slaves, should have Liberty of Trade, allowing the Company 10 *per Cent.* towards defraying their extraordinary Expence.

From this time the *Company* more visibly decayed, insomuch that in eight following years they only imported to the *West-Indies* 17760 Slaves; and the separate Traders in that time 71268.

Their 10 *per Cent.* in the first ten years amounted to 87465*l.* and therefore finding their Trade under great disadvantages with these

Brasil, and the West-Indies.

these new Inmates, they resolved to make the best shares they could in this Money, by lessening their Expence about the Forts. They accordingly withdrew all Supplies from their Garisons, leaving them to subsist by their own Management or starve. *Gambia* Fort having only twelve men, was taken by a Privateer of eight Guns in 1709, *Sierraleon* thirteen men, *Sherbro* four, and these not of any Charge to the Company, but were possessed by such, who having a long time resided in their Service, by help of those Fortifications were capable to do something for themselves, and so the private Traders by degrees got entirely quit of their Impost; the reason in a manner ceasing, for which it was at first allowed.

About 1719, their Affairs seemed to revive again, under the Auspices of the Duke of *Chandois*, who became a very considerable Proprietor in their Stock, and promised from his Figure and Interest a Renewal of those Privileges that had depressed them; their Objections ceasing, (the number demanded being now very short of what it was formerly.) More Ships were employed than for many years past, but whether it were their too large Expence, or Corruption of their chief Officers, who too often in Companys think they are sent abroad purely for their own Service, or both; they soon felt that without a *separate Act* they were incapable of contending with private Traders, and every year more

The Guinea Trade. more and more explaining their Inability, they applied to Parliament, and now support their Forts by an annual Allowance from the Government, of 10000 £.

Those who are the Favourers of Companies suggest, that if the Trade must be allowed, and the Christian Scheme of enlarging the Flock cannot well be carried on without it, that then it seems necessary and better for the Publick that some rich and powerful Set of Men should have such exclusive Powers to encourage and enable the subsisting of Forts and Garisons, to awe the Natives and preserve the Trade from being engrossed by our dangerous Rivals here, the *Dutch*; which, as we relinquish, falls an acquisition to them, and renders all precarious; they could also bring (as an exclusive Company) foreign Markets to their own Price.

The Company's Trade wanting that Encouragement, every year grows worse; buying dearer than in times past on the Coast, and selling cheaper in the *West-Indies*; the reason at *Guinea*, is a greater Scarcity of Slaves, and an improved Knowledge in the trading *Negroes* who dispose of them; and at the *West-Indies* it is the Demand failing, more disadvantageously still for them, because separate Traders are not under the delays they are subject to: They take the whole Coast in their way, while the other is consigned to the Governour, and can afford to undersel
their

their Goods (necessary Requisites for Dispatch ^{The Guinea} and Success) because they stand exempt from ^{Trade.} all Coast-Charges. On the other side, our Colonies are now pretty well glutted with Slaves, and their Call consequently not nigh so large: 2000 in a year perhaps furnishes all our Plantations, and tho' more are imported, it is in order to transport them again to the *Spanish West-Indies*, where tho' the *Assiento* Ships are of late years only indulged by Treaty, all others being liable to Confiscation, and the People to Slavery if taken by the *Spanish Guard le Costa*; yet the Prospect of Gain inciting, they still find means to continue on, and maintain a forcible Traffick for them, under the Protection of their Guns. This clandestine Method, by the way, hurts the *South-Sea* Company, beating down the Price of their Slaves, who cannot so well afford it, because bought, and brought there at a greater Charge.

The third part of our Division is the Bay of *Guinea*, which takes in *Whydah*, *Benin*, *Callabar*, &c. to *Congo* and *Angola* in 8° S. In this Extent *Whydah* is principal, there being more Slaves exported from that place before the late Conquest of it by the King of *Dahomay*, than from all the rest of the Coast together, the *Europeans* being said in some years to have carried off 20000; but more of this by and by. I shall only observe, that as this part abounds more with Slaves, the other does

The Guinea Trade. does with Gold, and the windward Coast with Ivory.

I now proceed to our Method of Trade, and shall sum the Rules of it up, under the head of Interlopers. Private trading Ships bring two or three Boats with them upon this Coast for Dispatch, and while the Mates go away in them with a proper Parcel of Goods, and Instructions into the Rivers and By-places, the Ship is making good her Trade at others near hand.

The Success of a Voyage depends *first*, on the well sorting, and on the well timing of a Cargo. *Secondly*, in a Knowledge of the places of Trade, what, and how much may be expected every where. *Thirdly*, in dramming well with *English* Spirits, and conforming to the Humours of the *Negroes*. *Fourthly*, in timely furnishing proper Food for the Slaves. *Fifthly*, in Dispatch; and *Lastly*, the good Order and Management of Slaves when on board; of each, a Word or two.

First, on the *Timing* of a Cargo: This depends at several places much on Chance, from the fanciful and various Humours of the *Negroes*, who make great demands one Voyage for a Commodity, that perhaps they reject next, and is in part to be remedied either by making the things they itch after, to pass off those they have not so much mind to, or by such a continual Traffick and Correspondence

correspondence on the Coast, as may furnish ^{The Guinea} the Owner from time to time with quick ^{Trade.} Intelligence, to be done only by great Merchants, who can keep employed a number of Ships, that like a Thread unites them in a Knowledge of their Demands, and a readier Supply for them, as well as dispatch for their Master's Interest, by putting the Purchases of two or three Ships into one. The late Mr. *Humphry Morrice* was the greatest private Trader this way, and unless Providence had fixed a Curse upon it, he must have gained exceedingly.

Secondly, Of the Sorting, this may be observed in general; That the Windward and Leeward Parts of the Coast are as opposite in their Demands, as is their distance. Iron Bars, which are not asked for to Leeward, are a substantial Part of Windward Cargoes. Crystals, Orangos, Corals, and Brass-mounted Cutlasses are almost peculiar to the Windward Coast; -- as are brass Pans from *Rio Sesthos* to *Apollonia*. - - - Cowreys (or Bouges) at *Whydah*. — Copper and Iron Bars at *Callabar*; — but Arms, Gun-powder, Tallow, old Sheets, Cottons of all the various Denominations, and *English* Spirits are every where called for. Sealing-wax, and Pipes, are necessary in small Quantities, they serve for *Dashees* (Presents) and a ready Purchase for Fish, a Goat, Kid, or a Fowl.

The Guinea
Trade.

To be more particular, here follows an
Invoyce bought at *London* about the year
1721.

A GUINEA Cargo.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
10 Cotton Ramalls at	0	11	0	5	10	0
10 Silk D ^o —	1	00	0	10	00	0
20 Herba-longees —	0	10	0	10	00	0
20 Photees —	0	17	6	17	10	0
30 Tapseils —	0	12	0	18	00	0
20 Blue swaft Bafts -	1	02	0	22	00	0
20 Chintz —	0	12	6	12	10	0
50 Nichanees —	0	13	0	32	10	0
176 Blue Paper Sletias	0	7	6	66	00	0
650 Crystal Beads	2	00	0	13	00	0
N ^o 221 per Mill. }						
2500 D ^o — N ^o 30	2	12	0	6	10	
4500 D ^o — N ^o 36	2	18	0	13	01	0
2000 Rangos per Cwt.	0	11	0	11	00	0
4 Cafes and Chests —				1	15	0
Charges and Entry at Custom-house	3	12	6			
	<i>Ct. q. l.</i>					
20 Brass Kettles qt.	2	0	02			
28 D ^o — —	2	0	04			
25 D ^o — —	2	0	06			
251 Guinea Pans —	3	0	18			
	9 1 02					
per Cwt. 7 l, 7 s. 0 d.				68	02	5

311 00 11

Brasil, and the West-Indies.

161

l. s. d. The Guinea Trade.

Brought over ——— 3 11 00 11

4 Casks ——— 1 03 00

20 Chests of old Sheets }
each *qt.* 65, at ——— } 0 1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ 12 1 17 06

130 2*lb.* Guinea Basins.

73 3 — D°

13 4 — D°

In all 4 *Cwt.* 1 *q.* 11 *l.* 18 04 09

Box of Scales, Weights and }
blue Pans. ——— } 19 00

Cartage, Portage, Wharfage, &c. 4 10 00

84 Quart Tankards at 2 *s.* 2 *d.* — 9 02 00

96 Pint D° at — 1 8 — 8 00 00

A Cask ——— 14 09

11 Groce of slope-pointed Knives }
at 1 *l.* 6 *s.* ——— } 14 06 00

200 Blue Ranters at 0 08 00 80 00 00

50 Narrow green D° 0 08 00 20 00 00

50 Broad blue D° 0 11 06 28 15 00

25 Says at ——— 1 15 06 44 09 06

8 Cafes with Carriage ——— 2 10 06

150 Trading Guns at 0 08 03 61 17 06

50 D° — dock Locks 0 08 06 21 05 00

150 Cags ——— 0 00 07 02 10 06

21 *Cwt.* Tallow — 2 01 00 43 01 00

For melting and put- }
ting up *per Cwt.* } 00 02 2 03 00

Cartage, and 10 large }
Cags ——— } 00 11 00 16 08

797 06 07

35

The Guinea
Trade.

Brought over	—	797	06	07
35 Small Cags at	— 0 00 08	1	03	04
10 Barrels of Powder	3 05 00	32	10	00
Wateridge and Shift- ing the Powder - }	—	00	08	06
50 Wickered Bottles	0 03 02	9	03	04
172 Gall. malt Spirits	0 02 00	17	04	00
40 Cases of Spirits	0 07 00	14	00	00
Freight of a Vessel to <i>Portsmouth</i>	5 10 00			
Expences and Postage of Letters	— 0 11 00			
Commission at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.	— 22 03 03			
		900	00	00
10 Cwt. of Cowrys at 5 l.	— 50 00 00			
Total	—	950	00	00

I was but a young Trader, and could not find out till I came upon the Coast, that this Cargo was ill sorted. At the first place we touched (*Sierraleon*) where commonly may be got twenty or thirty as good Slaves as any upon the Coast, I found I had neither Cutlasses, iron Bars, a better sort of Fire-Arms, Malt, and other strong Liquors, the delight of those Traders. At none of the others, quite down to the Gold Coast, were many considerable Articles of my Invoice ever asked for; so that I was forced to make friends with the Factorys, and exchange at such a loss, that had it not been for the small Wages our Ship was at, and some lucky hits, the Owners

ers must have suffered much; but to give an ^{The Guinea} Inſight. Trade.

The Sale of Goods.

At Sierraleon.

Gold Bars.

1 Piece of Planes	_____	10
7 77lb. Kettles	_____	26
3 Pieces of Chintz	_____	12
1 Piece of Handkerchief Stuff	_____	2

The Price of a Woman Slave — 50

7 50 lb. Kettles	_____	20
5 Pieces of Brawls	_____	10
1 Piece of Ramal	_____	4
1 Bar of Iron	_____	1

The Price of a Boy Slave — 35

At Apollonia.

Accys.

2 Photees	_____	14
2 Cotton Ramals	_____	8
1 Piece Longee	_____	4
2 Sletias	_____	5
7 Sheets	_____	7
32 Braſs Pans	_____	32

A Man Slave _____ 70

L 2

At

The Guinea
Trade.

		Accys.
3 Photees	_____	21
41 Sheets	_____	41
2 Longees	_____	8

A Man Slave	_____	70

At *Gambia.*

		Gold Bars.
9 Gallons of Brandy	_____	9
6 Bars of Iron	_____	6
2 Small Guns	_____	10
1 Cag of Powder	_____	10
2 Strings of Pacato Beads	_____	2
1 Paper Sletia	_____	3

A Woman Slave	_____	40

At *Affinee.*

8 Trading Guns	_____	32
1 Wicker Bottle	_____	4
2 Cafes of Spirits	_____	6
28 Sheets	_____	28

A Man Slave	_____	70

At *Anamaboo* and *Cape Palmas.*

		Accys.
A Cag of Tallow	_____	$2\frac{1}{2}$
A quart Pewter Tankard	_____	1
A Pint D°	_____	$\frac{1}{2}$
4lb. Pewter Basin	_____	1

2lb.

	Accys.
2 lb. Pewter Basin	$\frac{3}{2}$
Sealing-Wax	3
A qr. Barrel of Powder	8
A gallon Cag of Musket-Shot	6
A gallon Cag of small Shot	8

At Whydah,

Cowrys sell *per Cwt.* — 12 l. 10 s. or in their way of reckoning, 10 *grand Quibesses.*

At Angola, the Duties are about 100 l. Sterl. every Ship ; and Goods sell, *viz.*

	Pieces.
A Gun	1
A Cag of Powder	1
A deep blue Baft	3
A Culgee	3
A Tapfeil	2
A Nicanee	2
A Curchalee	$1\frac{1}{2}$
A red Chintz	$1\frac{1}{2}$
A Bundle of Anabasses qt. 10 lb.	1
10 Brass Pans small and large	1
4 2 lb. Pewter Basins	1
$1\frac{1}{4}$ Case of Spirits	1
A whole Case D°	$1\frac{1}{2}$
4 Cutlasses	1
A Guinea Stuff	$\frac{1}{2}$
2 Bunches of Beads	1
4 King's Cloths	1

The Guinea Trade.	4 Looking-Glasses	_____	1
	10 Pint Mugs	_____	1
	A Brawl	_____	$\frac{1}{4}$
	9 Foot of black Bays	_____	1
	16 Inches of Scarlet Cloth	_____	1
	16 D° of blue Cloth	_____	1
	1 Photee	_____	2
	1 Pair Cotton Ramal	_____	$1\frac{1}{2}$

As I propos'd only a general View of the Trade, I have pointed out here the best I could, what Goods are asked for, the Price, and at some places, the Proportion; the Slaves selling at a Medium of 15 *l.* a Man, and 12 *l.* a Woman; a Gun and Barrel of Powder being always parts of the Truck (at *Cabenda*) for a Slave. They have Canoos there, will carry 200 Men; matted Sails to them, and Cordage twisted from a wild Vine that grows in plenty about the Country; with these they pass frequently from *Congo* to *Loango*. A Slave-Ship in the former River would intercept much of the Trade to *Cabenda* and *Angola*: The Duties are easy with the King of *Soni*, and the Harmony they live in with a few defenceless *Portuguese* Missionaries, shews they are a peaceable People.

A *Second* Requisite for Success in this Trade, is an acquaintance with the Places, what may be expected at them, either as to the *Manner* of Trading, bold or fearful of one another, and

*The Guinea
Trade.*

ious Custom, of dropping with their Finger a drop of Sea-Water in their Eye, which they are pleased when answered in, and passes for an Engagement of Peace and Security; and yet after all this Ceremony, they will sometimes return to shore: If hardy enough to come on board, they appear all the time shy and frightened, and from the least appearance of a *Panyarr*, jump all over board. Downwards to *Bassam*, *Affinee*, *Jaquelahou*, *Cape le Hou*, *Jaque a Jaques*, *Cape Apollonia*, and *Three Points*, or where they have possibly gained a Knowledge of the *English* Factorys, there is a better Understanding and Security: These are places that sell off a number of Slaves, managed however wholly on board the Ships who anchor before the Town, hoist their Ensign, and fire a Gun: Or when the Natives seem timorous, do it by their Boats coasting along the Beach, and pay at some of them a small Duty to the chief *Cabiceers*.

Thirdly, To give dispatch, cajole the Traders with *Dasbees* of Brandy, and tell them, you cannot possibly stay above a day or two, and that on their account. To a Country-Man, if he joins where there is prospect of *Goodee* Trade, you are to form some Story that may carry him farther to Leeward if possible, (two or three Leagues will hinder his doing you any Damage for that Voyage.) The Lye did me most Service, and for which

I had the Merchant's Dispensation, was in-^{The Guinea Trade.} forming my good Friend that at *Cobelabou* they had taken a great number of Captives, and that Captain — had got his Freight there in ten days: this I did with an air of Diffidence, to make the greater Impression, and at the same time *dashee'd* his *Negro* Friends to go on board and back it. If on better Intelligence such like Story should not take, and he resolves to stay and share, your Reputation is secured by the diffidence of your Report, and you must resolve with him now upon a Price in your Slaves, not to outbid one another; but at the same time make as strong a Resolution not to observe it. And here the Master has room to display his talent, the frequency of the Trick having made all very cautious and diffident.

When a Ship has gathered up all this Trade, she makes up the deficiency of her Freight at *Anamaboo*, three Leagues below *Cape Corso*, where they constantly stop, and are sometimes two or three Months in finishing. It is a place of very considerable Trade in itself; and besides, the *Company* have a House and Factor, keeping always a number of Slaves against those demands of the Interlopers, who, they are sensible, want dispatch, and therefore make them pay a higher Price for it than any where on the whole Coast; selling at six Ounces and a half a Slave (in

The Guinea Trade. exchange for Goods) tho' the poor Creatures look as meagre and thin as their Writers.

If the *Company* should want rather to buy than sell, as is sometimes the case, and fits both; then such a difference is paid by the *General*, as shall make it worth the Ship's time to go to Windward again.

Hence I make this deduction, that if the Adventurers Stock be small, only sufficient to employ one Vessel, to have her a Sloop; because less hazard is run in lengthning out time, which subjects to Sickness and Mortality among the Slaves; saves the aggregate Charge of supporting them and a Ship's Company, and likewise such a Vessel will have less remains of Cargo, after her Slaving is compleated; what is left, usually going off to the trading *Cabiceers* and Factories at a low Price, or what is worse, kept on board and spoiled.

Contrarily, great Traders who can employ many Ships, obviate in a great measure such Inconveniencies: They put the Trade of two or three Ships into one at *Anamaboo*, (the largest and most chargeable) and with the conjunction of their remains, go to Windward, and begin anew.

Fourthly, giving way to the ridiculous Humours and Gestures of the trading *Negroes*, is no small artifice for Success. If you look strange and are niggardly of your Drams, you frighten him; *Sambo* is gone, he never
cares

cares to treat with dry Lips, and as the Ex-^{The Guinea} Trade.
pence is in *English* Spirits of two Shillings
a Gallon, brought partly for that purpose;
the good Humour it brings them into, is
found discounted in the Sale of Goods.

A *fifth* Article, is the wholesome Victual-
ling, and Management of Slaves on board.

The common, cheapest, and most com-
modious Diet, is with Vegetables, Horse-
Beans, Rice, *Indian* Corn, and Farine, the
former, Ships bring with them out of *Eng-
land*; Rice, they meet to Windward, about
Sesthos; *Indian* Corn, at *Momford*, *Anama-
boo*, &c. and further Supplies of them, or
Farine, at the Islands of *St. Thomas*, and
Prince's; Masters governing themselves in
purchasing, according to the Course they de-
sign to steer.

This Food is accounted more salutary to
Slaves, and nearer to their accustomed way
of Feeding than salt Flesh. One or other is
boiled on board at constant times, twice a
day, into a Dab-a-Dab * (sometimes with
Meat in it) and have an Overseer with a Cat-
of-nine-tails, to force it upon those that are
sullen and refuse.

The further Management and Caution to
be taken with Slaves on board, till their de-
livery in the *West-Indies*, I shall intermix

* A Word used by our Sailors, for the *Grout* is made of it.
with

The Guinea Trade. with what I know of the method of Trade at *Whydah*, and *Angola*, because Cautions where a Cargo is of one Language, is so much the more requisite.

Whydah is the greatest trading Place on the Coast of *Guinea*, selling off as many Slaves, I believe, as all the rest together; 40 or 50 Sail (*French, English, Portuguese, and Dutch*) freighting thence every year. The King is absolute as a Boar; making sometimes fair Agreements with his Country Neighbours, it being often the Interest of Traders to be honest (perhaps the only reason that makes them so) but if he cannot obtain a sufficient number of Slaves that way, he marches an Army, and depopulates. He, and the King of *Ardra* adjoining, commit great Depredations inland.

On the Ships he lays these Impositions, and to prove his Folly, does it mostly for the benefit of those that rule him; *First*, of having the Refusal of all Goods; *Secondly*, the Value of twenty Slaves from every Ship, small or great, as a Duty; and *Thirdly*, forces his own upon them at an advanced Price.

The *French, Dutch, and English*, have each a House, or mud Fort, about three Miles from the Sea, keeping Tents at the Beach for the convenient receiving and securing their Cargoes as it comes from the Ship, and transmitting the Returns; which, by a dangerous double Barr upon the Coast, is rendred im-

impassable sometimes (by the alteration of *The Guinea* the Winds) for a fortnight together; the *Ne-Trade* groes only know how to paddle thro' it, and when they think it safe, a Signal is made to the Ships, from those Tents, by hoisting their Flags.

The chief of either Factory that gets first on board any Ship coming into the Road, has a right to serve her with Boats and Servants, and has a Due of seven Slaves for it.

The Commanders, with their Surgeons, (as skilled in the Choice of Slaves) attend the whole time on shore, where they purchase, in what they call a fair open Market.

The Mates reside on board, receiving from time to time their Master's Directions as to the Goods wanted, and to prepare the Ship for the Reception and Security of the Slaves sent him; where this is a Rule always observed, *to keep the Males apart from the Women and Children, to handcuff the former; Bristol Ships triple such as are sturdy, with Chains round their Necks;* and to keep your own Men sober, and on a barricado'd Quarter-deck: tho' the natural Cowardice of these Creatures, and no other Prospect upon rising; but falling into the hands of the same Rogues that sold them, very much lessens the Danger: Nevertheless, it is adviseable at all times, to have a diligent Watch on their Actions, yet (abating their Fetters) to treat them with all Gentleness and Civility.

At

*The Guinea
Trade.*

At *Angola*, the first Man is the King, the second, *Mabuca*, third, *Mafucar*, fourth, *Machangee*, fifth, Captain *More*, and the sixth, Madam *Barsse*; Names expressive of some *Virtue; and where they chuse a white Man's, (common at many parts of the Coast) it is from the Qualities they admire in such, and strive to imitate.

Here they force about twenty Servants, which the Ship is obliged to pay, after the rate of six Fathom of *Guinea Cloth* per month, and every *Sunday* Morning, two Knives to each of them. - - Their Business is to attend every Morning, and carry up your Goods safe to the Factory, where others take the Charge, and are accountable for all Losses.

The *Bum-boy* again supervises the Slaves, to do justice between Buyer and Seller, and by the Custom or Law of the Country, the Ship is to stand charged with neither them or other Effects, till delivered into the Boat. However, considering what are their Courts of Justice, it will behove all Masters to have a diligent Inspection upon the Slaves themselves, and to keep good Locks and Bolts upon their Goods: for it is here, as at *Whydah*, the commonest People, who cannot arrive at, or forbid Trade, are all Thieves and

* *Moquissin* is a name given to any thing they think has an incomprehensible Virtue. *V. Geographic. Atlas.*

Beggars, the King and Courtiers chief, but *The Guinea Trade.*
openly more honest, because they get more by it.

Your Gold-takers are, *Peter Griffin*, (the King's Brother-in-law) *Thomas Boon*, and *John Brown*. Sometimes Ships settle an Agency at *Mumbalar*, or other neighbouring Place, and get considerable Trade; I have known 70 Slaves purchased there in a Month, with the additional Duty of six *Pieces*, and giving to the Servants who fetched up the Goods, each a single Annabass, a bundle of Beads, three Knives, and a Dram: with all, let your Agreements be as positive as possible, for they are very difficultly kept to their Words.

When we are slaved and out at Sea, it is commonly imagined, the *Negroes* Ignorance of Navigation, will always be a Safe-guard; yet, as many of them think themselves bought to eat, and more, that Death will send them into their own Country, there has not been wanting Examples of rising and killing a Ship's Company, distant from Land, tho' not so often as on the Coast; but once or twice is enough to shew, a Master's Care and Diligence should never be over till the Delivery of them. Some *Negroes* know well enough, that the preserving one white Man may answer their Purpose in an Exchange; however, generally speaking, we allow greater Liberty in our Passage, as conducive

The Guinea Trade. conducive to their Health; we let them go at large on the Ship's Deck, from Sun-rise to Sun-set, give such as like it, Pipes and Tobacco, and clean and air their Dormitories every day.

Having given my Sentiments of the way and method of Trade at different parts of the *Guinea Coast*, I have still some remaining Observations to make under the chief Articles of it, *viz. Slaves, Ivory, and Gold.*



S L A V E S.

Slaves.

SLAVES become so (we are told) in this Country, by War, by Mulcts on some particular Crimes, or Debts which they are unable to discharge; and they are bought by us (some say) not as Merchants, but Christians, to preserve them from Sacrifice and Cannibals, to convey them to a Land flowing with more Milk and Honey, to a better Living, better Manners, Virtue, and Religion; let us examine each of these Pretences.

First, the Negroes. By War for the most part is meant Robbery of inland, defenceless Creatures, who are hurried down to the Coast with the greater Cruelty, as it is from a contented, tho' a very poor Life. Trade has improved the Robbers, but as all are not alike

alike expert, or alike Villains, it is alterable,^{The Guinea Trade.}
ebbs and flows, and at some places we have never yet had any.

2. The *Negroes* become Slaves to one another, by *Mulcts* imposed on some sort of Crimes, or Debts contracted beyond their Ability to discharge. Few come to us this way; for tho' much Artifice and Revenge might mix in their *Palaavers* (Justiciary Courts) yet their Jurisdiction extends not beyond their own Towns, when Self-preservation will teach them more regard to Justice for their own sakes, lest the Relations of those sentenced should revenge it, and also because the Barbarity would encrease an Enmity to the Rulers, the Punishment falling on Neighbours of the same Country, Complexion, Language, and Religion.

We who buy Slaves, say we confer a Good, removing them to a better state both of Temporals and Spirituals; the latter, few have the Hypocrisy (among us) to *own, and therefore I shall only touch on the former:

They live indeed, according to our *European* Phrase, very poor and mean, destitute almost of the common Necessaries of Life;

* The *Portuguese*, who trade hither from *Brasil*, chuse their Cargoes all Boys and Girls, if they can, as more ductile for Conversion; there being Fathers appointed to instruct them in their Creed, and to baptize them, on their arrival; but then they are *Papists*.

The Guinea
Trade.

but never starve, that is peculiar to trading Republicks; then who is judge of their Wants, themselves, or we? Or what does Poorness mean? more than a sound, to signify we have that which another does not want. Do not many men in politer Nations, renounce the World for Cloisters and Desarts, and place a greater happiness in preserving their Innocence, than enjoying even the Necessaries of Life; nay, often ravished with the neglect of them. Wherever therefore Contentment can dwell, tho' under the meanest Circumstances, it is a barbarous Corruption to stile such poor, for they have every thing they desire, or, which is much the same, are happily ignorant of any thing more desirable.

To remove *Negroes* then from their Homes and Friends, where they are at ease, to a strange Country, People, and Language, must be highly offending against the Laws of natural Justice and Humanity; and especially when this change is to hard Labour, corporal Punishment, and for *Masters* they wish at the D——l.

We are Accessaries by Trade, to all that Cruelty of their Countrymen, which has subjected them to the Condition of Slaves, little better in our Plantations, than that of Cattle; the Rigour of their usage having made some hundreds of them at *Jamaica* run away into barren Mountains, where they chuse to trust Providence with their
Sub-

Substance, rather than *their Fellow-Chri-* The Guinea Trade.
tians (now) in the Plantations.

Slaves differ in their Goodness; those from the *Gold Coast* are accounted best, being cleanest limbed, and more docible by our Settlements than others; but then they are, for that very reason, more prompt to Revenge, and murder the Instruments of their Slavery, and also apter in the means to compass it.

To Windward they approach in Goodness as is the distance from the *Gold Coast*; so, as at *Gambia*, or *Sierraleon*, to be much better, than at any of the interjacent places.

To Leeward from thence, they alter gradually for the worse; an *Angolan Negro* is a Proverb for worthlessness; and they mend (if we may call it so) in that way, till you come to the *Hottentots*, that is, to the Southermost Extremity of *Africa*.

I have observed how our Trading is managed for Slaves, when obliged to be carried on aboard the Ship. - - Where there are Factories, (*Gambia, Sierraleon, the Gold Coast, Whydah, Calabar, Cabenda, and Angola,*) we are more at large; they are sold in open Market on shore, and examined by us in like manner, as our Brother Trade do Beasts in *Smithfield*; the Countenance, and Stature, a good Set of Teeth, Pliancy in their Limbs and Joints, and being free

The Guinea Trade. of Venereal Taint, are the things inspected, and governs our choice in buying.

The bulk of them are country People, stupid as is their distance from the Converse of the Coast-*Negroes*, eat all day if Victuals is before them ; or if not, let it alone without Complaint ; part without Tears with their Wives, Children, and Country, and are more affected with Pain than Death: yet in this indocile State, the Women retain a Modesty, for tho' stripped of that poor Clout which covers their Privities (as I know the *Whydahs* generally do) they will keep squatted all day long on board, to hide them.

Whydah Slaves are more subject to Small-Pox, and sore Eyes ; other parts to a sleepy Distemper, and to Windward, *Exomphalos's*. There are few Instances of Deformity any where ; even their Nobles know nothing of chronical Distempers, nor their Ladies, of the Vapours. Their flattish Noses are owing to a continued grubbing in their Infancy against their Mother's Backs, being tied within the *Tomee*, whether upon Travel or Business, for a year or two, the time of their sucking.

I V O R Y.

IVORY is a Commodity sold all the Coast over, but, like the Slaves, more in some parts than others, and supplied thence to all the Western World. It is in *Teeth or Screvelios*. The Teeth are the large, weighing from 30 to an hundred weight, are worth double the other at home; these selling for ten or twelve pounds, when those do not for above 5 *l.* a hundred.

The *Screvelios* are small, from fifteen down to four Pounds weight; among these last are sold us to Windward, the Teeth of the *Hippopotamus*, or *Sea-Horse*, caught in the Rivers *Nunes* and *Gambia*, about 16 Inches long, a white Ivory, but so brittle as not to be easily worked.

The Rule upon the Coast is, that when four will weigh an hundred weight, they shall all be accounted Teeth, and paid for as such, tho' one or two of them be never so small; for the more Teeth encrease in their weight, the better the Ivory, and makes amends for the smallness of the other.

At *Gambia*, the points of them are often found broken, from the Elephant's grubbing against rocky Ground; at other times, you

The Guinea Trade. see them flawed, or they are light in proportion to their bigness, Circumstances that abate their value.

I have been often ruminating, how the trading *Negroes* come by these Elephants Teeth, and find they exchange our *European* Commodities with the inland Natives for them; but whether they again shoot the Elephants, or find their Teeth in travelling through the Woods and Desarts, is uncertain. Their Rivers and Canoos indeed, help to extend their Knowledge a vast way through the Country, and there are some Accounts that tell us, the *Negroes* scituated upon these Rivers (like the *Americans*) make Excursion, or Voyages of a month or two, from their Habitations.

Mr. *Plunket* of *Sierraleon*, and others of above twenty years experience in those parts, have informed me, that Elephants move and change their Pasture in very large Herds; that they have seen Drovers upon the Banks of the *Gambia*, of a thousand and fifteen hundred together; that they are bold, have a tough Case, forage less than Horses, and look out much better: from the Circumstance of number, and boldness of their March (said to be in a line) they seem secured from any attacks of the timorous Natives, who must come very near, or their Skin is impenetrable by Fire-arms. Besides, Ivory was the Trade of *Guinea*, before the use

use of them, to which I may add, the weighty ^{The Guinea} Teeth come to Sale in a less number than ^{Trade.} the *Screwelios*; altogether persuading me, they are not shot, but that the larger Size are Teeth of Elephants who have died naturally, and which being grown to their utmost Perfection and Solidity, withstand a very considerable Elapse of time, without decay or mouldering; and that the *Screwelios* are probably such as are shed when young, the like as we meet in the human Species, or as Bucks do their Horns, which the Natives by practice know where to look for.



G O L D.

THE Gold of *Guinea* is mostly traded for at the *Gold Coast* (thence denominated) and is either *in Fetish*, *in Lump*, or *in Dust*.

The *Fetish-Gold* is that which the *Negroes* cast into various Shapes, and wear as Ornaments at their Ears, Arms, and Legs, but chiefly at their Head, entangled very dextrously in the Wool; it is so called, from some Superstition (we do not well understand) in the Form, or in their Application and Use, commonly mixed with some baser

M 4

Metal,

The Guinea Trade. Metal, to be judged of by the Touch-Stone, and skill of the Buyer you employ.

The *Lump*, or Rock Gold, is in pieces of different weights, pretended to be brought out of Mines. I saw one of these which Mr. *Phips* had at *Cape Corso*, weighing thirty Ounces; they are always suspected to be artificial, and by the cunning Fellows in Trade, cast so, to hide some baser mixture of Silver, Copper or Brass: wherefore it is not safe trusting to the antique, dirty look, but to cut or run it for satisfaction.

Dust Gold is the common Traffick, the best comes hither from the neighbouring inland Kingdoms of *Dinkira*, *Akim*, and *Ar-cana*, and is got (we are told) out of the River-Sands. *Tagus* in *Portugal* was once so famed ;

Omnis arena Tagi, quodque in mare volvitur aurum.

Juvenal. Satir. 3.

The Natives dig Pits nigh the Water-falls of Mountains abounding with this Metal; the Ponderosity of their Particles sinking them there: and then with incredible Pains and Industry, they wash the Earth and Sand in Trays and Vessels till it all swims off, and they espy at bottom now and then two or three shining Grains of Gold that pays them (without great Fortune) only as Labourers.

~ This

This is the most probable Account, how ^{The Guinea} they come by their Gold on this Coast: For ^{Trade.} if it were through Mines, and from Kingdoms so nearly bordering on our Factories as *Arcana* (whence the best and purest) it would long since, I imagine, have tempted us, or the *Dutch* to have dispossessed the Natives, and worked them solely to our own use.

Gold Dust is not gathered at *any* part of the same River, it's said, but at convenient Spots nearest the Mountains; because when too distant from the Floods that wash through Mines, their Weight buries them too deep, or disperses their Particles too widely, to answer the Labour of Searching.

Masters of Ships customarily hire a Native, at so much *per* month, for this part of the Trade; he has a quicker sight at knowing, and by Practice, readier at separating the drossy and false Gold, with which the true has ever some Mixture, to impose on unskilful People. This impure Stuff is called *Crackra*, a Pin or brass Dust, current upon the Gold Coast among themselves, but is a gross Cheat in Traffick, some of it is very bad.

The way to separate, is by copper Blow-pans, shaped like Fire-Shovels; into this your Gold-taker throws three or four Ounces at a time, and by gently tossing, and blowing upon it, the lightest being the false, flies off: the larger Grains he discriminates by his sight,
and

The Guinea and separates by his Fingers with a wonder-
Trails. ful dexterity.

Their way of counting Gold at the Factories, is by Ounces, Bendees, and Marks, lesser are Dumbays, and Doccys, or Toccus; 12 of this, or 24 of that, make an *Accy*, (about 55.)

All reserve it in Leather Pouches, and at *London*, the Gold-Smith runs it down in a * Crucible at two pence *per* Ounce; it's kept dissolved for the Evaporation of Dross, (perhaps one Ounce in a hundred) and then cast into a solid Bar; a Chip from it he sends to the Assay-master in the *Tower*, who by his Office is Judge, and on a small Fee, signs back a Note of it's Value, that is, how much above, or under Sterling; and so amounts to a Shilling or two over or under 4*l.* a *Troy* Ounce.



Our Return upon the Gold Coast.

AT our coming hither in *October* 1721, we understood every where that the Pyrates under the Command of *Roberts*, had been plundering the Ships down the whole

* Made of a peculiar Earth from *Germany*, and bear (those that are good) the most intense heat,

Coast, but were then supposed gone off: ^{Gold Coast} the latest Account of any who had suffered, being in *August* last. We therefore, under no Apprehension of their Return, divided the Provisions had been sent hither from *England* to us, and leaving the *Weymouth* (the worst disabled Ship of the two) in Cape *Corso* Road, stretch'd away to Windward again, the Beginning of *November*, in order to *mann*, by the Purchase of Slaves, and impressing Sailors from the Merchant Vessels; the latter we had little Occasion of, their ill Treatment, and bad Diet (or a Pretence of it) making them all Volunteers that could be spared.

At *Succonda* we heel'd and scrubbed Ship, a Ledge of Rock shooting from the western Point nigh a League, making it a smoother Sea than any of the neighbouring Places; and this little Check given to the Water, we observed, made the Bay flow a foot or two higher than any part of the plain Coast.

At *Dixcove*, the Windermost of our Gold-Coast Factories, we heard by the *Carlton*, that the Soldiers who had come out under our Convoy for the *African* Company's Service at *Gambia*, had unhappily mutiny'd with Captain *Masse*y one of their Officers; disdaining the bad usage of the Merchants who had the Command and Victualling of them, they spiked up the Guns, and retir'd to the Ship which had brought them over,
(the

Gold Coast (the *Bumper*) and there by a joint Consent of *George Lowther* the second Mate, and some of the Sailors, proceeded to Sea; the Effect of which, see in the *History of the Pyrates*.

At *Apollonia* we found all our old Acquaintance were gone: The Queen that had two or three Months ago sent off a *Dashee* of four *Accys*, was lately, with her People, forced to move to *Affinee*.

There are a numerous People called *Santies*, or *Affanties*, extending a long way on the back of them, who derive a considerable Trade to the Coast, particularly at *Anamaboo*. This Nation, provoked by the frequent Depredations and *Panyarrs* of the *Apollonians*, had lately been down and drove them from their Habitations; tho' themselves, unwilling to own the Roguery, say it has proceeded from the Instigation of *Jan Conny* their Neighbour and Competitor. At *Affinee* therefore, we found them preparing to revenge this Injury, buying up all our trading Arms at a good Price, and giving a Fowl for every Flint we could spare, (there being no such thing in the Country.) They are as fearless as any of the Colour, both in Trade and War, and promise themselves an Amendment of their Fortune, which, by accounts since, I hear they have accomplished against *Conny*.

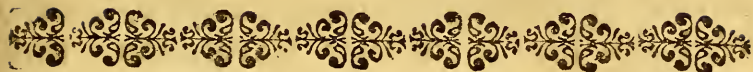
At Cape *Three Points* we found our Wa-GoldCoast. ter-Pond almost dried up, tho' the Wind at S. E. had lately brought on two or three heavy Showers of Rain, and they failing, constant thick Fogs in the day, and what is very unusual at the distance we anchor, Dews in the night on board: *The Current to Westward*. In this Bay, two or three Evenings running, we saw a monstrous Fish heavily moving about the Ship, divided into eight or ten different Parts, each as large as a *Thornback*, sinking immediately at the throwing over a Hook; the Sailors call it a *Devil-Fish*. *Fire-Flies* also, (common to warm Latitudes,) flew about in the night; an Insect that makes the like light in the Air, as *Glow-Worms* on the Ground.

What I shall farther observe from this Cruise or the Circuit we have made, I never yet met either of those useful Animals, a Dog or a Horse, among the Natives; the latter, *Bosman* (who writes of *Guinea*) says, are numerous in-land; and of the other, *their Bark turns to a Howl in three or four Broods, their Ears and Colour inclining to a Fox*. Those I have seen, and not hitherto mentioned, are, among *Quadrupeds*, the Cat, Hare, Rat, Lizzard, Boar, Porcupine, Civet-Cat, Camelion, and Petto or Sluggard, from the Slowness of his March; he will grow lean in the time he takes to ascend a Tree, and never comes down till he has devoured

Gold Coast. youred all the Fruit. *Birds*, the Parrot, Parquet, Pheasant, Partridge, Wild-Duck, Turtle-Dove, Snipe, Kite, and others. *Fish*, the Jack, Plaife, Sole, Bream, Thornback, Dab, Lobster, Crab, Shrimp, &c. *Reptiles*, the Toad, Scorpion, Centipes.



PIRATES.



P Y R A T E S.

AS *Roberts* the Pyrate, by the bold Sweep made in *August*, had struck a Pannick into the Traders, we were several times in our late Cruise alarmed with Stories of their being again to Windward; which kept us *Plying*, till others contradicting such Report, and considered with the rashness of the Attempt, returned us to our Rendezvouz in Cape *Corso* Road, where we had scarce well arrived, before Mr. *Phips* received Intelligence by two or three Canoes dispatched to him, of Vessels chased and taken by them a few Leagues off, committing great Cruelties. They were well manned, we understood, having increased their number greatly by this double Expedition, and the Reputation of their Success; the Seamen every where entering, notwithstanding our neighbourhood, and where they refused, by report, 'twas oftner thro' Fear, than any detestation of the Practice.

The Conclusion from our Advices, was to follow them to *Whydah*; for avoiding this Road, (which it might be imagined they would do, in respect to our being there) the next and chiefest Place for Booty was there. We missed them however by 24 hours, but
fol-

Pirates. following quickly to Cape *Lopez*, luckily fixed the Limits of their Navigation ; their Drunkenness, Inadvertency, and Disorder, making them fall an easy Prize to us.

Discipline is certainly an excellent Path to Victory ; we see it through all Nations, who in some ages are warlike, in others effeminate. Courage, locutory or military, like a Trade, is gained by an Apprenticeship. The Coward to-day, may seven years hence become a brave Fellow, and metamorphosed again, perhaps by a bad Wife, or other adverse Fortune. What makes our Militia laughed at, even by Men draughted from them? only because they want that constant Discipline, the red Coat and martial Law, that makes the other terrible : Every Man in standing Troops, is in a School of Exercise, where, if not dull, he may acquire the Tread, the Talk, and Courage of a Hero.* Subordination is an Essential to it in this very Discipline ; the Gentleman brought up ever so tamely, finding a Courage with his Commission, and for the most part, increasing as he becomes a Captain, a Colonel, or a General. The Pirates, tho' singly Fellows of Courage, yet wanting such a Tye of Order, some Director to unite that Force, were a contemptible Enemy, neither killed nor wounded us a man in taking them, and must

* There's but the twinkling of a Star,
Between a Man of Peace and War.

Hud.

ever, in the same Circumstances, be the Fate^{Pirates.} of such Rabble.

We found in the three Ships about 200 *Englishmen*, 60 or 70 stout *Negro* Slaves, great plenty of trading Goods, and, what more attracted the Eye, a large quantity of Gold Dust, by computation, 8 or 10000 *l.* the Searches made, and the Diligence of the Officers in those Searches, imagining themselves to have some share in the Heap, makes that Sum very probable; the Pirates themselves giving out double: for all which, the Commander at home obtained the Privy-Seal.

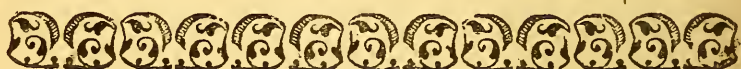
The People, their Wives, and Widows, who thought themselves injured in this Seclusion, petitioned the Lords-Commissioners of the Admiralty, the Secretaries, and other Officers of State, for a Recall of this Grant; *sine Auspiciis*. The Officers joined also in in a Petition for the E—— of B——y's Interposition, to obtain for them the Division of any Sum they might prove, over and above what was suggested in obtaining the Privy-Seal; —and with the same Success.

To return from this Excursion; the number of our Prisoners gave a great deal of fatigue and uneasiness, during a six Weeks Passage, lest the danger of a Halter should prompt them to some desperate Attempt for their Liberty; but arriving safe at Cape *Corso* again, they were there brought to their Tryals;
N hang'd;

Pirates. hang'd, or acquitted; the Court allowing for the Office of Register,

26 Days Attendance, at 30 s.	}	l. s. d.
per <i>Diem</i> , for which at		
home $\frac{1}{3}$ was deducted —		
The Provost, 7s. 6d. per <i>Diem</i>		26 00 0
		9 15 0

The General of the Coast gave the Table, which made the whole Charge rest upon those two Articles, the cheapest since the Reformation.



St. George de E L M I N A.

St. George
de Elmina.

DURING our Stay in the Road, an Officer or two of us took an Interval to wait on Mr. *Butler*, the Director-General for the *Dutch* at *St. George de Elmina*, three Leagues to Windward; he received us so much the more kindly, that in eighteen years which he had resided on the Coast, he had seldom been visited by his Countrymen, and of late, not at all, which he imputed to the Misunderstandings that were frequently happening between him and his Neighbour, Mr. *Phips*, on account of Trade; they could not pay him this Compliment without offending the other. His Table had ten Dishes of
Victuals,

Victuals, an extraordinary Shew in a part^{Elmina.} of such Scarcity, with variety of Beer and Wine, and an attendance of six *Negro* Servants, each a gold Chain about his Neck, the largeness distinguishing Grandeur, as fine Cloth or Lace does a Livery.

After Dinner, Mr. *Butler* gave us four gold Rings a-piece, (the Make of the Country) a Trifle; he said, to remember him, and then shewed us their Apartments and Store-houses, large, and well stocked.

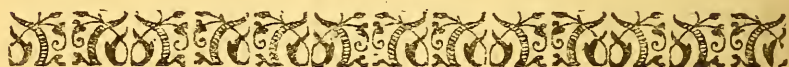
The Castle, taken from the *Portuguese* in 1638, is a Quadrangle; like that of Cape *Corso*, but has a double Ditch round, cut out of a Rock, which like Basins hold the Rain-water, and give additional Strength; a populous *Negro* Town at the foot of it, under their Protection.

From hence, we retired for the Afternoon to a Summer-house in his Garden, and in the Evening his Officers attended us to the Boat, where we were still followed with Marks of undeserved Respect, three or four Rooves of *Brasil* Sugar, (then a Commodity) and at putting off, a Salute of nine Guns. The worst part of our Fare came afterwards, when we could not commend this Hospitality and Generosity of Mr. *Butler*, without indirect Reflections upon our own Castle.

On the 1st of *May* 1722, we left Cape *Corso*, (for my own part, I hope till Doom's-Day) and on the third, came down to *Why-*

dah. Here we took a Sailor out of a *Portuguese* Ship, that had been a Confederate in seizing Captain *Rowry's* Vessel, as mentioned before at *St. Thomas's*; he, on the Reflection of his Crime, and a Fear of worse Evil, cut his Throat, and died. About this time I was appointed *Purser* to the *Weymouth*, (a *Bur-fier*, the Officer in Colleges, that takes care of their Accounts) every body being dead almost, that could do it: and with Reluctancy in me, because not skill'd in the *Employ*, and neither Cooper, Steward, or Necessaries on board; but the Indulgence I expected on these accounts from a worthy Commander, and some little Advantage in quitting the Surgeon's Employ, were Persuasives.

From *Whydah*, both Men-of-War steered away for Cape *Lopez*, to wood and water, in order for the *West-Indies*.



Cape L O P E Z.

Cape Lopez.

CAPE *Lopez* makes a safe and pleasant Bay, our anchoring in 20 Fathom Water, the Cape N W B N, the Watering-place S B E, each a mile and half distance.

Coming in, we bring the Cape S. S. W. to avoid what most Charts lay down, the Shoal called *Frenchman's Bank*, about a League and half N. N. E. from the Cape; and

and some say there are other Shoals between *Cape Lopez*. that and the *Main* to the Northward.

The Cape is low and steep, yet looks bluff with Trees, has some *Savannahs* behind, the resort of *Buffaloes*; I have seen a dozen head at a time here, which, when you are minded to hunt or shoot, the *Negroes* are ready to assist. The Bay is well stored with Fish, and the Country affords Plantains, Goats, Fowls, and particularly grey Parrots, all cheap; but their principal trading Commodities are Wax in Cakes, and Honey, exchanged with us on easy terms, for Linnen, Calicos, Stuffs, Pewter Spoons, Knives, &c. and it is the Seal of all Bargains, to take hold of one another's Hands and say, *Palaaver suquebah*.

Pou, or Wood, is after the rate of a Fathom, for an old *Guinea* Sheet; their Water free, and easy come at, but is a standing Pool, and not so well-tasted therefore as Springs.

The Natives are harmless and inoffensive, never sell one another. But when Ships come in, flock towards the Bay with Wax, Honey, a few Teeth, and little Gold; which last, I rather believe, is brought thither, because not one of them seemed to know the Value of it. They are timorous, and therefore have their Habitations at a distance from the Sea, few of them venturing on board a Ship; scared, I suppose, by the Tricks have formerly been put upon them by our Traders: so that we

Cape Lopez. barter altogether on shore, where they attend for that purpose.

Their familiar Salute at meeting, is by clapping their hands two or three times, to one another. To a Superior, (the *Cabiceer*, or the Aged) they bend the Knee, raising first their Hands to the out-parts of their Shoulders or Arms, then patting the other's Hands gently three times, they cry *Chamba* at each time, and retreat with three times clapping their own hands: - - - to profess an extraordinary Friendship to you, they raise your Hand as high as they can reach.

Many of them have borrowed Names from the *Europeans* that put in here, and are pleased when you will adopt them to wear such a Cognizance of your Remembrance; they do not solicit this Favour till after several views, that they see something to be admired, or that the Person asked, has a fancied Sympathy of Temper, or likeness with themselves.

As they come down to trade in Tribes, each has a Captain or Leader, who always craves or claims some *Dashee*, before you strike a Bargain with any of the other *Negroes*; a Bottle of Brandy, a Sabre, Knife, or any ordinary Apparel is acceptable; the *Chief* loves to distinguish himself by an Imitation of our Dress, and is often so preposterously set out with Hat, Wig, and Breeches, that he makes a fifty times more ridiculous,
and

scaramouch Figure, than any of his naked Dependants. Cape Lopez.

Jacobus was one of these; he takes on him the Title of King, without knowing the meaning, and came on board to visit us in a very antick Figure; an old Sailor's Wig turned upside down, half a pair of Breeches, Jacket, Hat, &c. yet this Man seemed to be revered much by the others, and in drinking, two of them always held up a Cloth before his Face, that he might not be seen; the Custom seems to have a State in it, and borrowed perhaps from some neighbouring Monarch: He of *Monomotapa*, it is said, never drinks, but the Court put up their Prayers with a loud Voice, which being heard by others, is transmitted over the whole Town.

As *Jacobus* and his Company grew drunk, (for they swallowed nothing but Bumpers of Brandy) I observed this Respect was laid aside; and what was a greater Misfortune, the Prince and his Retinue beheld with winking Eyes, all their Hovels on fire ashore: The Occasion this; we happening to have all our Colours flying, and some Guns let off in honour of the 28th of *May*, another Leader on shore misinterpreting it as a particular Respect to *Jacobus*, grew jealous, seized his House during the Revel, his Wives, and his *Dashees*, drank up all his Brandy, eat all his Victuals, cudgelled his People, and set both his Houses on fire.

Cape Lopez: Next Morning, on unravelling the Mystery, the Surprise was over, and all became good Friends again. They have very little Knowledge or Use of Fire-Arms, because no Trade scarce; their Weapons being Spears, Arrows, and Clubs, and it is a bloody Battle among them, when half a dozen of a side are knocked down.





A

VOYAGE

TO

Brasil, and the West-Indies.

FROM Cape *Lopez* (parting with the Coast) we came in sight of the Island *Annabona*, the Breezes small at South, and Calms alternatively; hereabout we cruised three or four days, for our Consort the *Swallow*, that some how or other was separated; and missing her, bore away for *Brasil*.

In the Passage it may be first observed, that when we had sailed ninety Leagues to the Westward, and got into 3° S. the Winds that were at South veered, so as to become a true S E. *Trade*, that carried us four or five *Knots*. — And still as we advanced farther Westward, it blew fresher at E S E. 7, 8, and 9 *Knots* constantly, with neither Thunder

der nor Lightning. *Quare*, whether this distance is not a proper Medium to allow for the Attraction of all Exhalations by the Land ; at least that they considerably abate after that length from all Shores, allowing for Latitude, and as they are Mountainous or Plain. We see within this Dimension, (plainly) that it takes off the Influence of the Sun, and varies the *Trade* Wind towards itself : Nor is it so astonishing, since Animals themselves obey ; several sorts of Fish and Fowl have a periodical return to such and such places, and not so of those inhabiting the more stable Element of Land : Wherefore it is highly rational to think, that as the fluid Elements they live in yield *to the attractive Power of the Earth and Planets*, so also their Inhabitants have their Instinct more sensibly fated by them.

Secondly, in this *Trade*-Wind sailing, we are every day diverted with flying Fish, Bonnetos, and Sea-Fowl ; the Sails require little labour in *trimming*, the Ship goes steady, and the Bowl unslung ; so that at leaving such a Country we might cheerfully sing,

*How happy were we, when the Wind blew
abaft !*

One of these cheerful Evenings, eleven at night, the full Moon became totally eclipsed, a Darkness surprizing, as it was unexpected ; when she had recovered her Light, we re-

peared

our Sacrifice in Bowls, and fell into Reflections and Admiration of that Power which supports the Regularity of the planetary Motions, and the Sublimity of that Art which can so exactly calculate them : They demonstrate the Sphericity of the Earth, because Countries, as they are farther East or West, observe them hours sooner or later, according to their Longitude, which could not be on a Plain, but visible to all at once.

This Longitude therefore in a general View, is the same thing as Time, the difference of it being the distance East and West of any two places, allowing 15 Degrees, or 300 Leagues to an Hour ; the whole 24 being lost or gained in a Circum-navigation of the Globe, West or Eastward.

A natural, tho' hitherto incorrect way of estimating the Parts of Longitude *in those Runs*, till Instruments and Rules are discovered, is, I think, *First*, to make exact Tables of the Sun's Risings and Settings, at Places commonly departed from, and those we go to for every day in the year : and then, *Secondly*, to carry two proved Watches of equal Goodness, kept in equal Warmth, and freest from Motion and Weather, to measure the difference of time where you are, by the same edge of the Sun the Tables were made from ; the Minutes sooner or later, according as you go East or West, is so many Leagues

Leagues of Longitude for that day. I would insinuate by this only my Opinion, that those literal *Improvers* of Time, the Watch-Makers, bid as fair for the Discovery of Longitude as the Astronomer; for if Watches can be made not to err above two or three Minutes in the time a Ship is running 1000 Leagues, or if they do err more, a Rule could be found how much, (like as an Azimuth corrects the common Compass;) or if any *Movement* could be depended on only from Observation to Observation, then the Error would be no greater than what is met in different Quadrants, observing Latitude. As it is, it seems a proper Method to correct or assist the present Rules of calculating meridional Distance.

We made this Passage of 8 or 900 Leagues to *Brasil* in three Weeks; but having elsewhere given my Observations on the Country, I shall only take notice that the *Trade* blowing very fresh, and bringing in a great Swell, we hastened from the Coast to our intended Ports in the *West-Indies*.

In our Progress thither, a Remark or two: *First*, that in the Navigation from *Brasil*, we crossed the *Æquinoctial*, two or three Degrees W. of Cape *Roque*, keeping on with a pleasant S E. *Trade* that gradually lessened, and in 4° North Latitude, left us in Calms, Rains, and uncertain Squalls, (varying round the Compass;) That this continued for several days, till we drew in or near the Parallel of *Barbados*,

Barbados, and then we as gradually had obtained the *Trade* to Northward of the East, running 150 Leagues with it, that is, to *Barbados*.

Secondly, The reason of Calms, and Rains met in Latitudes between 4° and 11° N. (with a little Variation, as the Sun is of this or that side the Equinoctial) is probably from a Contest between the N E. and S E. *Trade*; but whether the passing them be more favourable far to the Eastward or Westward, I am uncertain.



B A R B A D O S.

BARBADOS was discovered by Sir *Wil-* *Barbados.*
liam Carter, in King *James I's* time, planted to little purpose until 1627; since which, the Crops have been so advantageous, as to have raised the Price of Ground thirty fold.

We anchored here in *Carlisle-Bay* the beginning of *August*, the resort of most Shipping who load at this Island. The Bay is made by *Needham and Pelican Points*; the Anchorage 20 Fathom, so clear Water that you may see to the bottom; but so foul and rocky, that the Cables are always buoy'd up with Cask. In the bottom of the Bay stands
Bridge-

Barbados. *Bridgetown*, the principal of the Island, and is the Residence of the Governor, Factors, and Merchants, who transact their Business here and at their Plantations alternately. There is only one large Church, with an Organ, and about twenty Chappels at different parts of the Island, all Episcopal, there having been no *Dissenters* these many years. The People are for the most part polite and well-bred, promoting Trade by a magnificent way of living; the chief of them are Colonels, or Captains of Militia, and in the Assembly are divided into a Party-Interest, on the civil Affairs of the Island, their chief Distinction; murmuring, or elate, just as they are in or out of the Governor's Favour, who can abate in the Customs, or imploy in the Application: (tho' by the way the fewer Officers, and those Menials, the better advantage to him.)

The whole is a *sweet* Spot of Earth, not a Span hardly uncultivated with Sugar-Canes; all sides bend with an easy Declivity to the Sea, and is ever green: This delight to the Planter has its Inconveniencies, that there is no Recreation out of Business, but in Drinking or Gaming.

The Propriety was given by King *James I.* to the Earl of *Carlisle*; and *Anno 1661*, King *Charles II.* purchased it back of Lord *Kinoul*, that Earl's Heir, allowing him 1000*l.* per *Ann.* Acknowledgment.

Anno

Anno 1663, an Act passed by the Presi-Barbados.
dent (who acts as Governor in their absence)
the Council and Assembly, for $4\frac{1}{2}$ in Specie
Duty of all Commodities, the Produce of the
Island, which it's computed will amount to
10000 l. per Annum. - - *Madeira Wines*
imported, at *4 l. 10 s. per Pipe*, raises *7000 l.*
and this, with one Pound of Gunpowder *per*
Tun on each Ship, is appropriated for Stores,
and Repairs to Forts.

The Governor is appointed by the King,
his Salary formerly used to arise at an un-
certain Sum of 4 or 5000 *l. per Ann.* from
Presents and Perquisites, since fixed at *1200 l.*
2000 l. and now is *6000 l.* And as the Coun-
cil, *a part of their Constitution*, is in a manner
of his own Nomination, being appointed by
Letters of *Mandamus*, as they have Power
to make Demands on ancient Perquisites, and
sway in the Application of the publick Mo-
ney; there are various ways of obliging, and
his Party will always be uppermost in the
Legislature, which consists of him, the Coun-
cil of twelve, and an Assembly of twenty
two, chose at the several Parishes by a Ma-
jority of Votes.

One Law is, *That no Inhabitant shall be*
carried off the Island without Leave; who-
ever engages in the Project, is liable to the
Debts; so that when a Family sees Ruin ap-
proaching, (a frequent Case of late years)
their Remedy is stealing away in Boats to
some

Barbados. some other Place of Subsistence ; and if they cannot this way escape a hard *Creditor*, they comfort themselves in dying, that it may be their Lot next. Those who depart fairly, are obliged to give publick notice at the Secretary's Office ; and no body objecting in twenty one days, are at liberty.

Another Act in 1676, passed against the Industry of the Quakers, whose Conversion of the Negroes, it was pretended, hazarded the Safety of the Island. They are computed at 80 or 90000, and are countenanced in Polygamy ; yet not dangerous, because no Mountains to fly to, Detections and Executions would soon follow their Rebellions. The *English* are reckoned 20000, the Women among them most *Scotch* and *Irish*, very homely, and great Swearers. The Men, contrarily, are very gay, clean, and handsome, from mean Originals, often succeeding with rich Widows ; it being but Justice to link a fat Plantation to the truly nauseous Draught of Matrimony.

The way of feeding such a Multitude, and providing Necessaries in an Island yielding little besides Sugar, is principally by their Fisheries and Importations.

The Sea gives them great plenty of flying Fish, Dolphins, Barricuda and King-Fish, particularly the first ; they bait with their own Specie, which thrown about, the Fish fly in such numbers to the Boats, that they take
their

them up with Dip-nets, and sometimes the ^{Barbados.} Dolphins with them; the Season goes off at the Autumnal Equinox. Their Importations by Ships from *England, Ireland, New-England, Pensylvania, Carolina, or New-York*, constantly supplying any Defect of Food or Necessaries, every Vessel bringing them something or other of this kind, which the Merchants keep in store and sell the Planters occasionally, who give their Sugars, Rum, and Molosses in return. The Price in what I was acquainted is, *viz.*

Bought,

Rum ——— at 1 s. 2 d. per Gallon.

Citron Water — 40 0

Pickled Pepper — 10 0

Preserved Ginger — 5 0 per lb.

Sugar, twenty Shillings a hundred; and before our Improvements (says *Gee*) the *Portuguese* sold for 7 and 8 l. a hundred.

Cocoa, 3 or 4 l.

Aloes ——— ——— 4 d. per lb.

Sold,

Salt Beef and Pork, 40 Shillings for a Cask of 2 Cwt.

Bisket, 17 s. per hundred

Candles, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per lb. &c.

Exchange 30 per Cent. or more.

I have heard that the Custom-house Books had one year 35000 Hogsheads of Sugar entred, which at 10 l. per Hoghead, amounts to

0

350000 l

Barbados.

350000 *l.* Every Acre was supposed 10*s.* a year Profit to the national Stock of *England*, besides what the Planter got, and Mouths fed by it; but I must observe, the Crops of late years have very much failed, and put many of them under great Necessities. The Soil fertile in the Age past, seems now growing old, and past its teeming-time; they endeavour to mend this by a few Cattle kept for the sake of Manure; *few*, I say, because Land imploy'd this way, gives not $\frac{1}{10}$ its Value. Wherefore when a thoughtless Man has joined to unlucky Events and Seasons an inadvertent way of living, he falls a Prey to the more astronomical Heads of Factors, who supply him with Food and Necessaries. The Hardships of many Planters at this time, through such Inclemencies, cannot be better laid open to the Reader, than in transcribing part of a Sermon, that I am informed was preached by Command of his Excellency the Governor, *May* 1734.

A Charity SERMON at *Bridgetown*,
for the two Parishes, *St. Philip*, and *Christ-
Church*.

“ **H**ERE I should have left off, but I am
“ *commanded* by his Excellency the
“ Governor, to exhort you to that Charity,
“ the Necessity of which has been laid be-
“ fore ye.

“ Re-

“ Remember therefore, that one of the ^{Barbados.}

“ ways observed of seeking God is, by obey-
 “ ing the Dictates of his Holy Spirit, that Hu-
 “ manity and Charity undepraved Nature feels
 “ towards all that are poor and distressed.

“ What an excellent Grace of Christianity
 “ this is, *St. Paul* from the Spirit of God
 “ teacheth, (1 *Cor.* xiii.) saying, that when
 “ the Gift of Tongues, of Prophecies, of
 “ Miracles shall cease, *a greater*, even that
 “ of Charity, shall never cease in the Church
 “ militant, never in the Church triumphant;
 “ nor can there be any greater Inducements to
 “ provoke us to Charity, than *first*, it covers
 “ a Multitude of Sins, and *next*, bringeth
 “ God himself (as he is pleased to esteem it)
 “ in debt to us; *for he who giveth to the*
 “ *Poor lendeth to the Lord, and look, what*
 “ *he layeth out shall be paid him again*; paid
 “ in Blessings here, and hereafter eternal
 “ Life, if no mortal Sin continue in the
 “ Giver, to hinder these blessed Effects.—
 “ I need say no more to ye who read the Bi-
 “ ble, how dear to God those Christians are,
 “ who according to their Ability are liberal
 “ to poor Persons and Families; so that what
 “ remains for me to say, is to expatiate a
 “ little upon the miserable State of the Poor
 “ of these two Parishes, and leave the whole
 “ to your pious Consideration.

“ In one of these, *St. Philip's*, mine Eyes
 “ beheld all the Signs of an approaching Fa-

Barbados. “ mine; the Face of the Earth appeared as
 “ it were a dry Crust, burnt up and gaping
 “ for its watry Nutriment; hardly any
 “ thing green appeared, and I am told, the
 “ Face of the Country is much the same
 “ in *Christ-Church* Parish. Now how mi-
 “ serable must it be with the single Poor, and
 “ with Families! I assure you, several are
 “ come into ours, and others are gone far-
 “ ther Leeward to seek for Work and Food.
 “ You who are tender Parents, consider how
 “ terrible it must be for Families with nothing
 “ in their House, nothing growing on their
 “ Land, not a grain of any thing to sup-
 “ port themselves and dear helpless Chil-
 “ dren: No Money, and no Credit, no Re-
 “ lief from without, and no Bread, nor Wa-
 “ ter either, hardly within or without. I
 “ have heard of poor Men going about for
 “ Work, to sustain their own Bodies, forced
 “ to leave Wife and Children at home to
 “ starve; sure your Hearts must relent, and
 “ every one of you give according as you
 “ are able, with a free Mind, and willing
 “ Heart. But here some may object, Why
 “ should I give to those two Parishes, when
 “ our own Poor may be in as great Want?
 “ I answer, some may be so; but the Ca-
 “ lamity (blessed be God) is not so general
 “ here; it is not so bad with us in that one
 “ necessary Article of Water. Thirst is ter-
 “ rible, let us then pity our poor Brethren,
 “ their

“ their Wives and Children, who go so far ^{Barbados,}
 “ for Water that they have not due time to
 “ get their Bread, were there Work for them
 “ to earn it by.

“ I believe, you know we have here poor
 “ Families in great want, and I could wish
 “ our Vestry would meet, particularly to
 “ consider it; but in the mean time, let us
 “ not forget the poorer People of these two
 “ Parishes, as now perishing for want of
 “ Food; yea, his L——p and the Council’s
 “ Belief is, (you hear) that some have al-
 “ ready died for want of Bread.

“ What Christian Man or Woman then
 “ in Affluence and Plenty, can have an Heart
 “ so hard as not to bestow liberally on so
 “ great, so sad, so calamitous a Necessity and
 “ Misery? and what poorer Christian, who
 “ has somewhat, tho’ little above his daily
 “ Wants, but will fling his Mite to stop so
 “ dread an Evil?

“ What Christian Woman, who has young
 “ and helpless Children of her own, and
 “ Bread to give them, but whose Bowels must
 “ yearn and Heartake to hear, that in these
 “ two Parishes are many Infants crying at the
 “ empty Breasts of their Mothers, and their
 “ Mothers weeping and languishing at the
 “ same time for Bread to sustain themselves.

“ What compassionate Fathers or Brothers
 “ but must grieve to understand, that grown
 “ Children too young to work, are now

Barbados. “starving in these Parishes, and their Parents
 “and Brothers nothing to relieve them.

“What good Children but must bleed at
 “heart to see their Parents starving? yet such
 “is the Fate of some in these Parishes.

“Christians consider, that one way of keep-
 “ing Famine from us of this Parish, is to
 “bestow our Charity in a Proportion to
 “their Wants, and our Ability: That is the
 “likeliest Method to move God to give us
 “fruitful Seasons, to renew our Springs, and
 “bring a cheerful Green over the Face of
 “our Plants and Seeds.

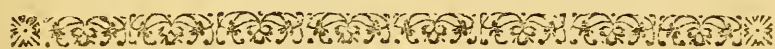
“*May the blessed Spirit, &c.*

The Consequence of this Distress now among the *Barbadians*, is shifting their old Habitations; several impelled by Necessity, and Wants, (stronger Motives than Religion;) are stealing away to mend it where they can.

The Sufferings of these Islanders, I think, will carry some Similitude to larger Countries; where the remarkable Decay, or Loss of one single Branch of Trade, it's observed, will sensibly affect Multitudes, not only those immediately concerned in the retailing, who must change Trades, infringing on others, or seek other Countries, but also those not concerned; because as an extraordinary Trade stamps an extraordinary Value on Land, and that on Provisions, when the one fails, or changes hands, as it has and will do, (*Venice*,
 the

the *Hans Towns, Antwerp, Holland,* and ^{Barbados.} which by the way, shews all Countries bordering on the Sea, within 50°° of Latitude, equally advantageous for Trade) the other ought to give way for the lowering of Provisions, and Charge of Subsistence to the Poor, (some ways of it being supposed now to be cut off or curtailed :) and if Landlords do it slowly, the Law should oblige; because, as publick Virtue is no private Man's Profession, he will take his Lands into his own hands, tho' with Loss, rather than submit to the Reduction of his Rents; and because he can afford it, will hoard, and suffer Grain to decay and spoil, before he will fall the Price.

In our Plantations, the inferior sort of Merchants are not unlike Sharpers in Gaming; they by a better Skill, know how to prey on the Wants, the Weakness, and Passions of their Customers (the Planters and Artificers) chaining them down by degrees to their Service; many of the Inconsiderate being ruined without knowing it, till the very Day they want Victuals.



SUGAR-CANES.

IN the Wars between *Holland* and *Portugal* in *Brazil*, a *Dutch-Man* arrived here from thence, who taught them the way of Planting and making Sugars. They are set

Barbados. out between *August* and *December*, six Inches deep, and do not come to Maturity until one year and a quarter: when ripe, which is known by their Colour, they cut them up with a Bill, and send them to the Wind-mills, which presses out the Juice so clean, the Canes by being an hour or two in the Sun, become fit for Fuel.

The Liquor must not remain in the Cistern above a day, for fear of souring; it is therefore by a Gutter conveyed to the Copper or Boyler, and in the boiling, the Filth scummed off; thence it's conveyed into the second and third, and in the last, called the *Tack*, is boiled to a Consistency, and turned into a Grain by throwing in of *Temper*, which is only the Infusion of Lime and Water made strong according to the Goodness of the Cane. Nine Pounds of Juice makes one of Muscovado, and one of Molossus.

From hence it is carried to the cooling Cistern, till fit to put in Pots, which have Holes at Bottom to drain off the Molossus

Of these Molossus again, they sometimes make another worse Sugar, called *Paneels*. Of the Scum, coarse Molossus, Washings of the Boilers and Pots, fermented together, is made *Rum*.

To refine Sugar, is to boil it over again, and clarify with the same Lime-Water and Eggs, reckoned better than the clayed Sugars of this Region, made by putting a clayey
Earth

Earth mixed with Water to the thickness of ^{Barbados} a Batter upon them, and repeated three or four times according to the degree of Whiteness design'd; both ways carry the Treacle and Molossus downwards, but the former most esteemed, as mixing less, and purging to better purpose. Lime refines from Impurities, and imparts a softer Taste, experienced in throwing it into Wells of hard Water; the best refin'd in Loaves comes back to the Sugar-Colonies from *England*, sell at 50 or 100 *per Cent.* Advance, and are of common Use; they must be kept dry, a hot and moist Air dissolving them.

From Molossus, Distillers make a clean Brandy, and it gives a pretty tasted Spirit to Malt Liquors, boiled and worked in the Tun.

Besides Rum and Sugars, they have Quantities of Ginger, Aloes, Tamarinds, Citron, Cassia, Coloquintida, Cassava, Limes, Oranges, Guavas, Pine-Apples, Mastick, Cedar, Cotton and Palmeto Trees, prickled Pear; but our Apples and Pears, nor any of our Shrub-Fruits, Goose-berry or Currant, will thrive. Of the Potato they make a brisk Small-beer, called *Mobby*.

About two or three years ago, the low Price of Sugars, that had reduced and beggar'd the Planters, brought on a Complaint, and Bill in Parliament in their favour. They urged, according to the best of my Remembrance, that the northern Colonies, especially

West-Indies.

cially *New-England*, being suffered to trade with the *French* Islands, was in a great part the Occasion of this, and a Loss to the Nation; for they took off all the *French* Molossus, which before they had no use for, but sold it our Islands at very low Prices.

The *French* therefore were helped by this Sale, to afford their Sugars cheaper, and still more enabled by a nearer Way of Living; by the Customs being taken off, allowing them to go thence to any Market, and other Encouragements to undersell, and take the foreign Markets from us, who were clogged with all those Inconveniencies.

The *New-England* People alledged, their Trade seemed the least essential Article in the Injury complained of; for unless our Islands found means to take off the other Impediments, and bring their Sugars to as cheap, or cheaper Price than the *French* and *Dutch*, they would be the same in respect to foreign Markets; and if new Grounds are better, or more wanted in Plantations, there are enough at *Jamaica*, *St. Christopher's*, &c. to redress the Evil. But this is not in their View, say they; the more Lands are employed, the less will be the Value of the present Estates, an impolitick Reduction of all prodigal Expences; for every Island singly, reckon their Happiness in part, not from the flourishing Condition of another, but from Casualties, and bad
Sea-

Seasons ; *the less quantity there is to answer* Barbados. *the Demand, the higher the Price.*

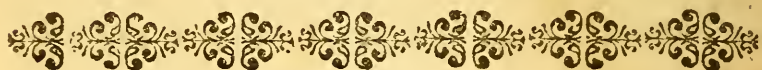
Barbados formerly used to buy the *French* and *Dutch* Sugars, making all that Trade go through their own hands, till in 1715, laying a Duty turned the Channel, and they would now make up that oversight by imposing their own Price on us.

The Northern Colonies deserve Favour, they think, as vastly superior in Number and Trade, take off more of the Manufactures of *England* for themselves, and their Trade with the *Indians*, who exchange Furrs and Pelfry to make Hats ; for the same Reason, they want more Molossus to manufacture among themselves, than our Islands can sell, or if they could, cannot take off one quarter of the Lumber, Horses, and refuse Fish, with which we trade with the *French*, not only for Rum and Molossus (which may as well come to us this way, as through their hands) but sometimes also Money ; and without which we have no means of purchasing, nor could get rid of our Produce and Industry, which is very unreasonable.

To lay a Tax of six-pence a Gallon on *French* Molossus, is the same as a Prohibition, which their Country cannot so easily bear. They take 20000 Hogsheads a year (each 100 Gallons) from the *Dutch* and *French*, which is 50000*l.* whereas they have no Specie to pay it, their Currency being all
Paper,

Barbados. Paper, and that but 30000*l*. Besides, it would be the first Tax on a charter'd Colony from *England*, where they have no Representatives.

Lastly, it was said, the *French* buy their Negroes, and Sugar-Materials (Mills, Coppers, &c.) 40 *per Cent.* dearer than us ; therefore for our Islands to say they cannot afford as cheap, is to say, they will not abate of their Pride and Luxury, but help to maintain it by a Tax on our more humble Industry.



The WEST-INDIES.

West-Indies.

FOR a general Idea of the *West-Indies*, we may understand by that Term, all the Continent, Sea, and Islands, from *Terra Firma* to *Florida*, or from near the Equinoctial to 28°° of N. Latitude ; and if you include *Bermudas*, to 32°°. The main Land in this Circuit divided into *Spanish* Provinces, is more peculiarly called the *Spanish West-Indies*, they possessing all, unless to the Southward in *Guiana* and *Paria*, where there are a few *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, interspersed on the Rivers and Coast of *Oronoko*, *Surinam*, and *Amazons*.

They import hence to *Europe*, besides Rum and Sugars, great quantities of Cocoa, Indigo,

Indigo, Cotton, Logwood, Ginger, Lignum-vitæ, Cochineel, Snuff, Cassia, Aloes, Pimento, Tortoise-shell, Dyers, and other Wood, a Variety of Drugs, and above all, prodigious Quantities of Plate, and some Gold.

West-Indies.

The Islands in this Sea are the *Charibbees*, *Sotovento*, *Antilles*, and *Bahama*.

Charibbees were the lesser *Antilles*, about 30 in number, whereof the *French* have *Martinico*, *St. Lucia*, *Bartholomew*, *Desseada*, *Granada*, *Marigalant*, *Guadalupe*, and *Santa Cruz*. To the *Dutch* belong in whole or part, *Saba*, *Eustatia*, *St. Vincent*, and *Tobago*, or *Tobacco Island*; so called, from the Plenty of that Weed there, or the Weed so called, as first transplanted thence. The rest are *English*, and of them *Barbados* is chief. Others next of Note are *Antegoa*, *Nevis*, *St. Christopher's*, and *Montserrat*; which have a separate Governor, stiled General of the Leeward Islands; their principal Produce with us, is Rum and Sugars; but the *French*, besides these, cultivate Cocoa, and Indigo: and as the managing of more Lands naturally gives Plenty, and makes room for an Increase of People, the *French* Policy of late years has considerably increased their Colonies at *Martinico* and *Hispaniola*; some say 40000 settled there at the *French* King's Expence, with the Addition of a year's Maintenance, to countenance their *Mississipi* Settlements, and these fur-

West-Indies.

further Views of drawing over Men's Affections, by affording *Europeans* the *West-India* Commodities, at the cheapest rate, and strengthening themselves against the Resentment of any who dislike it.

In some are found large Caves that run half a Mile under ground, supposed the Dwelling-places of the old Natives, who quickly forsook them to the new Inmates; tho' *Dampier* says, he met some of these *Charibbees* at *St. Lucia*, and *St. Vincent*, and others say the like of *Curasao*: The Name imports *Cannibals*, an Inhumanity charged on them at the Discovery, as a proper Accusation for Dispossessors.

Sotovento Isles lie E S E. and W N W. along the *Terra Firma*, called so because the *Spaniards* in their Voyages to *Mexico*, make them one after another *sub vento* (to Leeward.) Of these, the *Dutch* have *Curasao*, *Oruba*, and *Berraire*. The *Spaniard* the others, (*La Trinidad*, and *Margarita*, chief;) from whence, and the *Antilles*, they have of late years very much infested this Navigation with their *Guard le Costas*, confiscating the *English* Effects in Reprisal, it is supposed, for the Loss of their Fleet near *Messina*, 1718.

The greater *Antilles* are, *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, *Portorico*, and *Jamaica*; the three former, *Spanish*.

Cuba is principal; a very pleasant and flourishing Island, the *Spaniard* building and improving

proving for Posterity, without dreaming, as ^{West-Indies.} the *English* Planters do, of any other Home. They make the best Sugars in the *West-Indies*. It was from this Island, (*Velasquez* Governor,) that *Cortez* in 1518, made his Expedition and Conquest of *Mexico*.

The *Havana*, its chief Port and Town, is esteemed the richest in *America*; for besides its own valuable Produce, the *Spanish* Fleets from all parts on the *Main*, make up here in their return to *Europe*.

The Islands on the South Side of it, and the *Camaines*, are resorted to for the largest and best *Turtle*.

Porto-Rico, and *Hispaniola* (the diminutive of *Hispania*) are Islands we make, in our Passage to *Jamaica*, famous of late for their *Guard le Costas*. These Privateering Fellows, when they are not acting by lawful Commission, they know the Governor's Mind, and bring in Ships on a pretence they are trading with the King of *Spain's* Subjects in a clandestine and prohibited manner; if they find any Pieces of Eight, it is a Condemnation; an Encouragement in searching a Ship, to deposite some there themselves: Or if this Trick fails, they are yet detained, and on various Pretences lengthned out with Law-suits, till ruined. We called, after weighing from *Barbados*, at *Sancto Domingo*, the chief Town of *Hispaniola*, where we found three *English* Masters of Ships under these

West-Indies.

these Hardships. They had got the better in Law, but with such Charge and Delay, that it had spoiled their Ships and Voyages; and lest that should not do it effectually, their Damages are against the Captains of the Privateers, who are perhaps the Governor's servile Dependants, and not worth a Groat.

Sancto Domingo Harbour has 15 Fathom Water at the Bar, and the Entrance defended by several Batteries. The Town is the Residence of an Arch-Bishop, and a President from *Spain*, who lives in a House that is said to have been built and occupied by *Christopher Columbus* himself. To this Officer (on account of its prior Settlement) Appeals come from all the *Spanish West-India* Islands, whose Sentence is definitive, unless called by a particular Commission to *Old Spain*. They buy their Places, it seems, and consequently execute them oppressively.

The Island is diminished of its Inhabitants, for this, or a securer and better Settlement on the Continent; so that the *French* now, about *Petit Guavas*, equal, if not outnumber them, tho' both together are vastly short of what its Extent and Fertility deserves. A Soil that produces any thing; their Sea and Rivers full of Fish, and the Country spread with Forests of Cabbage and Palm-Trees, in which are prodigious Numbers of wild Hog and Beef, which the *Hunters* of different Nations at certain Seasons shoot,

the

the latter for their Hides; and the Pork, they ^{West-Indies.} *jerk* (as they call it) that is, strip it from the Bones, and then salting the Flesh a little, dry it in the Sun.

Bahamas, so called from the Principal, or *Lucayes* from *Lucayone* (new *Providence*, the largest of them) where the *English* have a Governor: They are noted for a dangerous and rapid Chanel, commonly called the Gulph of *Florida*, through which the *Spanish* Fleets always take their Passage to *Europe*, and are frequently shipwrecked.

The Pyrates often take their rise here, or if not, seldom fail in the Course of their Adventures to visit these Seas. There are Multitudes of little Islands and Kays, besides this Division above, that afford Refreshments of wild Hog, Cow, Goat, Sheep, Parrots, Guanias, Turtle, and Fish; many of them uninhabited, and seldom visited but on that account, whereby they are a natural and good Security. The Sailor, when he would express the Intricacy of any Path-way, stiling it the *Caribbees*

They commonly make their Beginning here after this manner; when any *Spanish* Ship is wrecked in *Florida*, the *Jamaicans* fit out Vessels to fish upon her, (the best I believe, being always pleas'd with going shares in such Voyages, which may be judged of by their Treatment of the Galleon cast away on *Jamaica*, a very few Years ago) and dis-

West-Indies.

pute a Right of Plunder with the *Spaniard* himself, who is also fitted from the *Havana* on these Accidents, to recover what they can; the Contest therefore is with various Fortune, and sometimes turns to a bad account.

Our Logwood-Cutters from *Campechy* and *Honduras*, who have been unfortunate by the frequent Visits of the *Spaniards* to destroy that Trade, remove hither, or those to them, to consult of Reparations to their broken Fortunes. Saunterers also, who are turtling from different Parts, do all together make a considerable Resort sometimes, and being prompted to Revenge for the Injuries sustained, they combine and furnish out a little Sloop perhaps *against them at first*, who finding little come by confining their *Ways and Means* to the *Spaniards* only, who sail in Fleets, they fall at last on any Nation; the Transition being easy from a Buccanier to a Pyrate; from plundering for others, to do it for themselves.

These Logwood-Cutters, (since mentioned) I must observe, were originally settled at the Bay of *Campechy*, but with a contested Right that made it hazardous, the *Spaniard* opposing the Legality, and when uppermost, treating them as Pyrates, which our People have frequently returned again with Interest. It was taken 1659, by Sir *Christopher Mins*. In 1678 again, by the *English* and *French* Privateers;

vateers; and what Licence the Peace of *Utrecht* gave, I am uncertain, but they are since drove out, and now support themselves with their Arms at the Bay of *Honduras*.

They are about 500 (Merchants and Slaves,) and have taken up their Residence at a Place called *Barcaderas*, about 40 Miles up a narrow River full of Alligators; and what is a greater Inconvenience against transporting their Effects, is a strong Current in it from the Freshes up Land, and the Banks being covered with Shrubs, that makes it difficult to walk and tow the Boats; covered also with infinite Numbers of Sand-Flies, and Muskitos. They live in Pavilions; a Servant at their time of lying down to rest, shaking them till cleared of these Vermin, that are an unsufferable Plague and Impediment to Sleep.

At the Season (once a year) they move their Pavilions from the pleasurable Spots, the better to attend the Logwood cutting, which carries them sometimes many Miles from this principal Residence, to follow the Wood, which runs in a Line or Vein (like Minerals in the Earth) of some Miles perhaps, and then as many, without a Stick of it. They cut it into large Pieces, and leave it on the Ground till the Land-Flood favours their bringing it into the River, and then Canoos are laden away with it, to lay in store at *Barcaderas*, where the Chief are still left residing.

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They have all good Arms, and knowing the *Spanish* Clemency, defend themselves desperately, if attacked; which has happened seldomer than at *Campechy*, and always by Sea.

A Servant, which is the first Step with Seamen into the Trade, is hired at a Tun of Logwood *per* Month, and has one Day in seven for himself, making together about 10 *l.* a Month to him; hence, if thoughtful and sober, they in time become Masters, join Stock, and trade independently. They have a King, chose from among their Body, and his Consort is stiled Queen, agreeing to some Laws by common Consent, as a Guide to them.

The Ships that come into the Bay, are on their Guard also, fetch it down in flat-bottomed Boats, each Crew being allowed on the Voyage, a Bottle of Rum and some Sugar, and row generally in the Night, as freeest from those stinging Flies, and rest in the Day.

The Exchange with Ships is for Money, Beer, Flower, or any sort of Provisions and Necessaries; these, the cunningest reserve in Store against the Wants and Demands of the Inconsiderate, and so make extraordinary Returns.

It may not be improper to conclude this Head with an Observation or two on the Chan-

Channel and Current of *Florida*, which I ^{West-Indies.} submit to the more Skilful.

This Gulph is as dangerous a Navigation as any known; the *Spaniards* often experience it, because it's an Addition to the Danger, that they have unwieldy Ships, and lubberly Seamen. We commit Errors, I imagine, by our common Charts, which lay down the Channel double the Breadth it is; the most intelligent in the Passage having assured me, it is not above 16 or 18 Leagues over; and therefore when a Storm happens, build on a false Supposition.

The *Spaniard* is likewise over-careful to be safe; the nicer Observations made on Shoals, Currents, or Winds, either here or in the Bay, when and how to make them advantageous, are from an imagined Security against any maritime Power, committed only to their Admiral (according to common Report) whose Light the Fleet are to follow; and for their better Recovery of any shipwrecked Cargo in the Gulph, (frequent in losing the Admiral,) they have a Garrison at *St. Augustine*, on the *Florida* Shore, a barren Spot where they are almost starved, and which would not be worth keeping but for this. Ships and Vessels may, and often have sailed through this Channel from the N End to *Cuba*, or the Bay of *Mexico*, notwithstanding the common Opinion, on account of the Current, that is against it. They

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keep the *Bahama* shore aboard, Shoals of a great Extent, sprinkled with rocky Islands so low, there is very little Safety to those unhappy Men who are cast away upon them; yet at several, there are anchoring Places, and fresh Water found.

They meet the Wind in Summer, for the greatest part of the Channel, Easterly; which with a counter Current in shore, pushes them through easily; much the better way for any sudden Attack upon the *Havana* (a glorious Attempt in time of War) because they cannot discover you, like as in the other Path from *Jamaica*, where by Beacons, they can gain an Intelligence of 150 Leagues in a very short Space of time, and so be the better prepared.

In order to the laying down my Sentiment on the *Florida* Current, I shall premise the Facts and Observations of our Pilots in relation to this Gulph, and that of *Mexico*, which have a Dependency as to the Cause of it, with each other.

1. This Stream goes constantly out to the Northward in mid Channel, its Force having some respect (like Tides in other Channels) to the Moon and to the Winds; with a counter Current, or at least a Stillness of the Water in shore, that will enable a Ship to turn through, be the middle Stream never so strong; the same as in the Strait of *Gibraltar*, where tho' the Current is continually into the

the *Mediterranean*, Ships may work through, ^{West-Indies.} keeping the Shore aboard.

2. The Current which goes out here, sets for the most part into the Gulph of *Mexico*, between the two Capes of *Corientes* and *Catoche*, with counter Currents in shore; tho' not always so, the Pilots having observed them strong to the East, new, and full Moons.

3. As to the Bay of *Mexico* it self, there are every where Currents round it various and uncertain, as to the Point they run on, or time of Continuance, especially on the *Apalachian* Side where it is safest stopping in the Night, and up Anchor only, in the Day. That these Currents are less discernible the farther from shore, and for the most part, bend to the Trend of the Lands; that is, when you have rounded Cape *Catoche*, it sets Westward, open with *Campechy* Bay to the Southward: From *Vera Cruz* in 19° to the Latitude of 28° it runs to the Northward, and thence round the Bay to the Eastward; more perceptible, I say, the nearer shore, because bounded, and makes the Tides in the Rivers.

4. The Rivers of *Georgia*, and *Carolina* (next Coast to *Florida* Northward) have as regular Tides as the *Thames*. So again, in the Bay of *Honduras* Southward, whose Reflux, it must be taken notice, makes a Northern Current.

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Now to sum up all, in order to account for the Current of *Florida*, which seems to me only this, that more of the Flood is propagated into the Bay of *Mexico*, by that Passage made from the West End of *Cuba*, and Shore of *Yucatan*; and more of the Ebb by the Chanel of *Florida*, and for these Reasons.

The Gulph of *Mexico* receives many and large Rivers, whose Mouths together carry some proportion with the Chanel of *Florida*; and consider'd as a little *Mediterranean* Sea, the Flood in it must have a more remarkable and strong Ebb: which shews it self rather here, *first*, because the Make of the Lands gives a freer Opening and Tendency of the Waters that way. *Second*, The Length and Contraction of the Channel, makes it more visible and constant, and is the Continuance of those River-Streams (that dissembogue in the Bay) even till it meets with the Tide to the Northward, which checks, like as at them, and produces a counter Current along shore: for we may observe, that altho' the Current goes constantly out in the Channel, yet at the Isle of *Providence* contiguous to it almost, the Tides are alternate and regular. *Third*, The Winds at East are more favourable to the Exit than the *Trade*, which sets in directly at the other Passage, and while it helps the Flood there, is at the same time an Obstacle to its Return; to which assists also that North-

Northern Current from the Bay of *Honduras*; nor will it be so perceptible there, because what Reflux is, opens to a wider Sea immediately, and probably had been the same at *Florida*, if the Gulph of *Mexico* had open'd without such Restraint to the main Ocean directly.

On this Supposition, the Variety and Uncertainty of Currents in the Bay, and the greater or less Rapidity in the Chanel, will depend much on the Winds without; and as they are dry or wet Seasons at Land, new and full Moons should influence the Strength of the Stream; and hard Gales concurring at N. or N E. among the *Bahamas*, should slacken it there, and promote an Eastern Current at the other Passage.



J A M A I C A.

J A M A I C A, called *St. Jago* by *Co-Jamaica*. *lumbus*, and was altered by King *James II.* it being a Compound of his Name, and *Ca* an Island. The chief Town is called *St. Jago de la Vega* (by the *English*, *Spanish-Town*.) Here the Governor resides, Courts are held, and the Assembly (chose as at *Barbados*) meet to enact Laws for the civil Government of the Island; which consequently draws

Jamaica. draws the greatest Resort of People, on account either of Business or Pleasure.

It was built about 1590, plunder'd by some *English* Privateers under one *Jackson*, in 1638, and in 1657 the whole Island was reduced by *Pen* and *Venables*: The favourite Families of those Days, (*Bradshaws, Iretons, Axtells,*) I believe, sharing the Estates; so warm a Climate with Hurricanes, Earthquakes, and dry Belly-achs, was a due Preparation. This Town of *St. Jago* is irregular, and low built, to secure it against Storms; even the Governor's, or what they call the King's House, is but a Ground Floor, and makes one side of a Quadrangle, with a Parade, where all Gentlemen meet to transact their Business; the Merchants and Factors for distant Planters, and the Officers civil and military, do together make a considerable Number, dividing in the Evenings to Parties of Dancing, Gaming, or Drinking, and generally to a publick House, to avoid the Obligation of Returns and Treats, very costly in this Country.

Kingston, at the upper End of *Port-Royal* Harbour, the Place of lading and unlading almost all Ships to and from the Island; is in my eye, preferable to the former. The Streets are wide, and more regular, to face the Sea-Breezes, and the cross Streets at right Angles, that the Air may have as little Interruption as possible; a Convenience that cannot be too much meditated in so hot a Climate;

Climate: for the Land-Breezes failing be-Jamaica:
times in the Morning, you have it excessively
hot; all Creatures languish and faint till the
Sea one succeeds, which will not be till ten
a clock, sometimes eleven, or later, and may
be esteemed the Life of the Island, dispelling
those impure Vapors, continually exhaled
from the Mountains, and refreshing and
rowing the animal Nature, from Backgam-
mon or Loitering, to Business.

The Harbour is spacious here, and the Ships
lie *Land-locked*; but the Peninsula that
covers them from the Sea being low and nar-
row, they are not so safe against Storms as
one would imagine.

From hence to *Spanish-Town*, when cal-
led on any Law-suit or Business, they take
Boat to *Passage-Fort* on the other side, a
small River at the Bottom of the Harbour,
where are three or four Houses that furnish
Passengers for the Journey (6 Miles) at 20 s.
a Coach, or 3 s. a Horse, and are rarely with-
out Customers; the Calls in Traffick are so
frequent.

Port-Royal, which makes up with the for-
mer two, all the Towns of Note on the
whole Island, is on the Starboard Entrance
of the Harbour. The Road before it is rec-
koned good holding Ground, and fenced from
Southerly Winds, by sandy Kays without.
The Town it self stands on such a sandy Kay,
not much above the Surface of the Water,
and

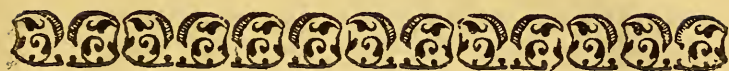
Jamaica. and contains no more Ground than holds the Buildings, and the Fort contiguous with it on the outer Point; which, with a Line, or Rampart of Guns to the Sea, (together about 100) is their chief Defence. Under the Fort is a little Nook, or Bay, called *Chocolato Hole*, where we have a Hulk lies for cleaning Ships.

Port-Royal has suffered remarkably every ten years, for thirty past. In 1692, an Earthquake sunk above half the Town; the Rubbish of those Buildings being still seen under Water, in the shallow Channel that now continues to divide it from the Main. In 1702, it was burnt down. In 1712, *August* 28th, happened a dreadful Hurricane. And now, *August* 28th, 1722, a more dreadful one, that besides the Damage it spread over most parts of the Island, did here in particular split the Castle, lay the Church and two thirds of the Town flat, burying three or four hundred People in the Ruins; but the Terror and Desolation may deserve a more particular Description.

For san hæc olim meminisse juvabit.



H U R.



H U R R I C A N E S:

THE *West-Indians* agree, that *August* ^{Hurricanes,} and *September* is the Season to expect them. They are incredible Tempests of Wind, whose Fury, neither Ships, Masts, Trees, or Buildings can resist. They come a Day or two before the full or new Moon next the Autumnal Equinox, and give Warning by a preceding unusual Swell of Water. They are of no great Extent, but blow within a Chanel as it were, one Island feeling it, when the next (within 20 Leagues perhaps) has no Share; and are, if not peculiar, rarely met with out of the *West-Indies*.

The Cause, as guessed at, is Plenty of elastic Vapors on the *Terra Firma* (whence they all blow) with which conspire at this time of year, the united Force of the Sun and Moon, to give their Explosion a greater Force; to this also may contribute, subterraneous Heats and Mountains: and if such different Effluvias as constitute the Matter of a Hurricane, can be supplied to the Chanel it blows in, *crescit eundo*.

This Opinion seems confirmed, *first*, from the Points of the Compass they blow on (S E. and S S E.) and never without side the Continent

Hurricanes continent at Cape *Roque*; for that Length the uninterrupted *Trade-Wind* is a Barrier, and from which these Storms, by the Position of Lands and Mountains, are necessarily a Deflection. *Second*, *Æquinoctial* Gales, we know, are every where observed to happen, and ascribed to the greater Agitation of Air, by Heat in a greater Orb; when therefore the Northern Suns have so long together been attracting, and at the same time chopping, and opening the Earth for a freer Emission of nitrous, sulphurous, and elastic Particles, no wonder the conjoined Forces of the Planets there, should now and then put them in execution.

The present Hurricane was a Week after our Arrival; began at eight in the Morning, two Days before the Change of the Moon, gave at least 48 Hours notice, by a noisy breaking of the Waves upon the Kays, very disproportioned to the Breeze, a continued Swell, without Reflux of the Water; and the two Nights preceding, prodigious Lightnings and Thunder; which all the old experienced Men foretold would be a Hurricane; or that one already had happened at no great distance.

I was ashore at *Port-Royal*, and found all the Pilots returned from the Windward part of the Island, (where they customarily attend the coming down of Ships,) and observing upon the unusual Intumescence of the Water, so great the Day before, and beat so high,
that

that our Boats could not possibly put on shore^{Hurricanes} at *Gun Kay* to take the Men off that were set there, to the Number of twenty, for trimming up our Cask; themselves making Signals not to attempt it. Betimes next Morning, the Wind began in Flurrys at N E. and flew quickly round to S E. and S S E. where it continued the Strefs of the Storm, bringing such Quantities of Water, that our little Island was overflowed 4 foot at least; so that what with the fierce driving of Shingles (wooden Staves used instead of Tiling upon their Houses) about our Ears, and the Water floating their Boats, empty Hogsheds, and Lumber about the Streets, those without doors were every Moment in danger of being knocked on the Head, or carried away by the Stream. Within it was worse, for the Waters sapping the Foundations, gave continual and just Apprehensions of the Houses falling, as in effect half of them did, and buried their Inhabitants: Nor indeed after the Storm had began, was it safe to open a Door, especially such as faced the Wind, lest it should carry the Roofs off; and escaping thence, there was no place of Retreat, we remaining in a very melancholly Scituation both from Wind and Water. *The Perils of false Brethren was nothing to it.*

It may be worth notice, what became of the Purser in this common Danger; I was regardless at first, as suspecting more of

Hurricanes. Timidity in the People, till finding my self left alone Proprietor of a shaking old House, the Streets full of Water and Drift, with Shingles flying about like Arrows; I began to meditate a little more seriously upon my Safety, and would have compounded all my *Credit* in the Victualling, my Hoops, and Bags, for one Acre (as *Gonzalo* says in the *Tempest*) of *barren Ground, long Heath, or brown Furze*, to have trod dry upon.

Our Neighbours had retreated towards the Church, as the strongest Building, and highest Ground, which I was luckily too late to recover; but endeavouring to stem upwards for a safer Station, was taken into a House in the lower Street, with an old Woman wading in the same manner from her ruined Habitation.

We were no sooner in, but new Fears of this also falling, thrust us into the Yard (the Water then at eleven a clock, breast high) where we helped one another upon a low Brick-built Out-house, that being more out of the Wind, and surrounded with others, kept the Waters still. The unhappiness of those who suffered in stronger, was their facing the Wind, which brought the Sea upon them with violence. A Platform of one and twenty Guns and Mortars were drove some of them to the Market-place; the two Lines of Houses next the Sea, with the Church, were undermined and levelled with the Tor-
rent,

rent, and in their ruin was our Safety ; for ^{Jamaica.} altho' we had a greater Depth, they were by such a Bank made motionless. The whole Rise of the Water was computed at 16 or 18 foot, very admirable at a Place where it is not ordinarily observed to flow above one or two.

At 5 in the Evening the Waters abated, and with so quick a Retreat as to leave the Streets dry before 6 ; when every one was congratulating his own Safety in Condolancies upon the Loss of their Friends. Of 50 Sail in this Harbour, only 4 Men-of-War and 2 Merchant-Ships rid it out, but with all their Masts and Booms blown away. All the Men we left at *Gun Kay* were washed off and perished, except one *Indian* that drove into Harbour upon a broken Gallows that had been there erected. Wrecks, and drowned Men were every where seen along shore ; general Complaints of Loss at Land (least at *St. Jago*) which made it a melancholy Scene, and to finish the Misfortune, the Slackness of the Sea-Breezes, Calms, and Lightning, stagnating Waters, Broods of Insects thence, and a Shock or two of Earthquake that succeeded to the Hurricane, combined to spread a baneful Influence, and brought on a contagious Distemper, fatal for some Months through the Island. There being no Volcanos, the Earthquakes felt here are always after great Rains, on a parched Earth that admits their Penetration ; and possibly nigher the Coast,

Jamaica. as at *Port-Royal*, may be from the Sea in a long Process of time undermining in some manner a loose Earth, or finding in its deep Recesses new Caverns ; or subterranean Heats working towards them, the dreadful Contest shocks.

In *December* following, for we were detained some Months in the Repair of Damages received, another or two Shocks were felt ; and at the End of the Month, as their proper Season, came on what they call *fiery Breezes*, strong Gales from Sea, that hold out often against the *Land-Breezes*, six or seven Days together ; they are pre-signified by a hazy Horizon, and portentous of a wholesome Season.

Norths, are counter to these ; they blow at uncertain Periods, strong and cool from the Mountains ; the People shut their Doors, and button up close against it, and the Impurities the Air has been experienced to be loaded with from that Quarter. We had one of these Gales the latter End of *September*, and two Days after, quick Shocks of Thunder and Lightning, which split a Sloop's Mast, and the *Flag-Staff* at the Castle in pieces.

On *Christmas-Day* we had a Meteor in this Horizon, that appeared to be a Ball of Fire, trailed along to a quarter of the Compass, from N N E. dropping Balls in the Track, that were suddenly extinguished. The
same

same I believe we call Falling-Stars, unless larger, and a more transverse Descent. Astronomers suppose them sulphurous Bodies, set on fire by the Sun, tho' eclipsed till he is set.

To Return to the Island: The *English* Gentlemen are preferable to the Women; for the most part, of a genteel Education, and emulous in a Magnificence of Living, but true Republicans in the Disposition; a Stranger unconcerned in Business, very difficultly tasting any other Hospitality than his Landlady's.

Bitts of 7 d $\frac{1}{2}$

Dinner	—	—	5
A Bottle of Small-Beer	—	—	1
A Bottle of Ale	—	—	4
Coffee <i>per</i> Dish	—	—	1
A Quart of Rum Punch	—	—	4
Lodging <i>per</i> Night	—	—	8

Ordinaries are filled with a Mixture of Land and Seafaring People, who have three or four sorts of Cookery at Dinner, and each a Pint of *Madeira*, with a Desert of Guavas, and other insipid or ill-tasted Fruit. One of our Dishes is frequently *Turtle*, much esteemed in this part of the World, and are supplied to the Market here by Sloops, and sold at a *Bitt* a Pound, like other Flesh; now also

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increased to a tolerable Plenty, by the Planters having set apart Servants, Pens, and Pasture-Grounds, for rearing up all kinds of Domestick Animals, in which of late Years they have found their account; our Ships Companies being victualled here twice a Week with fresh Beef, during a stay of 6 Months; and an Hospital on shore provided with lighter Food.

Bartering is the easiest way of Living on shore; or rather, no Man can live long without it: *Madeira* Wines, refined Sugars, Linnens, and Necessaries of almost all kinds, selling from 100 *l.* to 150 *per Cent.* Advance. Their Rum to you, 3 *Bitts per* Gallon; Sugars, from 4 to 7 *Dollars* a hundred, both superior to *Barbados*. Other Commodities are Ginger, Pimento, Cocoa, Indigo, Cotton, Tortoise-shell, Dyers Wood, Cedar, Mohogany, and Manchineel-woods, and allow 35 *per Cent.* Advance on Money.

The *Cræoles* (those born here) which are properly the Natives of the Island, the ancient ones being all extirpated, or fled the Cruelty of the *Spaniard*, before our Possession, are a spurious Race; the first Change by a Black and White, they call *Mulatto*; the second a *Mustee*, and the third a *Castee*; the Faces, like a Coat of Arms, discovering their Distinction. They are half *Negrish* in their Manners, proceeding from the promiscuous and confined Conversation

versation with their Relations, the Servants ^{Jamaica.} at the Plantations, and have a Language equally pleasant, a kind of Gypsy Gibberish, that runs smoothest in Swearing.

The *English* Subjects are computed at 7 or 8000, the *Negroes* at 80000; a Disproportion, that together with the Severity of their Patrons, renders the whole Colony unsafe; many hundreds of them have at different times run to the Mountains, where they associate and commit little Robberies upon the defenceless and nearest Plantations; and which I imagine they would not have done, but for the Cruelty of their Usage, because they subsist very hard and with Danger, by reason of Parties continually sending out by the Government against them, who have $\$$ l. a Head for every one killed, and their Ears are a sufficient Warrant, for the next Justice to pay it; if the *Negro* be brought in a Prisoner, he is tormented and burnt alive. Our latest Advices from *Jamaica* concerning them is, that they have chose a King, daily increase, have some inaccessible Places of Retreat, and are suspected of being encouraged and supplied with Powder and Arms from *Cuba*.

The natural Remedy against this Evil, is an Increase of Hands. They have large Savannahs both on the North and South Sides, supposed formerly to have been Fields of *Indian* Wheat, that afford good Pasturage,

Jamaica. and breed up a great number of Cattle with a great Waste of Land, still left capable of large Improvements into Sugar Plantations or Tillage; but here lies the Objection to any further Encouragement. If the present Proprietors can export 11000 Hogsheads of Sugar annually, and the Price with that number is kept low at Market, whoever contributes towards making 11000 more, is depreciating his own Estate, lending a Hand to ruin himself. Tillage and Grazing, tho' not employing the Land to $\frac{1}{10}$ Part its Value in such Colonies, would yet interfere with the present Interest also, by lowering the Price of Provisions; wherefore the Security from such Augmentation of People (the Merchants being Judges) give place to Profit, a Neglect that must be reaped in the End, by Undertakers of more generous Sentiments. This convinces me, that altho' Trade be Wealth and Power to a Nation, yet if it cannot be put under Restrictions, controlled by a superior and disinterested Power, that Excess and Irregularity will be an Oppression to many, and counter-balance the publick Advantages by increasing the Difficulties of Subsistence, and with it, Men's Dissaffection.

Here is a distant Evil; the Cure of which lies in an Expence that no body likes; nor for such Dislike will ever blame himself in time of Danger. The Merchant and Planter think, if less Sugars were made, it would be better,
pro-

provided (every one means) the bad Crop do ^{Jamaica.} not happen upon their own Plantations, and this for the same Reason, the *Dutch* and other Companies burn their Spice, *India* Goods, Tobacco, &c. viz. to keep up a Price; for rendering things common or cheap, or assisting towards the same Liberty, would border too much on the christian Precepts.

The Sloop-Trade hence to the *Spanish West-Indies*, under the Protection of our Men-of-War, has been reckoned at 200000*l.* per Ann. In 1702, Orders came to the Governor to hinder it, on account of a Treaty between us and the *Dutch* for that purpose, who have since gone into it themselves from *Curisao*; and in 1716, a yet greater Obstruction was put, by the peculiar Privileges of the *Affiento* Factors; however, they continue on, and complain of no other Illegalities, than the *Spanish* Seizures, of late years very frequent, and together with the Decay of this Branch of Trade, their Want of *Spanish* Wrecks, Privateering, and Fall of Sugars, makes the Island not so flourishing as in times past.

Sir *Nicholas Laws* a *Craole*, gives way as Governor, to the Duke of *Portland*, who arrived in that Quality (with his Dutcheſs and Family) about the middle of *January* this Year. He had put in to *Barbadoes* in the Passage, and met a generous Reception.

Jamaica.

Here they have doubled the Salary, a Compliment to his Nobility, and that too little, it's said, for his splendid and magnificent way of Living. His Table singly, has already rise the Price of Fowls, from 4 to 6 *Bitts*.

The *Jamaica* Chronology.

A. D.

<i>Columbus</i> discovered the Island	}	1494
May 3d.		
Sir <i>Anth. Shirley</i> routed the <i>Spaniard</i>		1596
<i>Pen</i> and <i>Venables</i> did the same		1655
<i>Geo. Fortescue Sedwick Doyley</i>		1660
<i>Ld. Windsor</i> , Governor		1662
Sir <i>Charles Littleton</i>		1663
Sir <i>Thomas Muddiford</i>		1664
Col. <i>Thomas Linch</i> , President		1671
Lord <i>Vaughan</i> , Governor		1675
E. of <i>Carlisle</i>		1679
Sir <i>Henry Morgan</i>		1680
Sir <i>Thomas Linch</i>		1682
<i>Hender Molefworth</i>		1684
D. of <i>Albemarle</i>		1687
Sir <i>Francis Watson</i> , President		1688
E. of <i>Inchiquin</i> , Governor		1690
Earthquake June 7th		1692
<i>John White</i> , President		1692
Col. <i>John Bowden</i>		1692
Sir <i>William Beeston</i> , Governor		1693
<i>French</i> landed at <i>Withy-Wood</i>		1694
<i>William Selwin</i> , Governor		1702
		Col.

Col. <i>Peter Beckford</i> , President	1703	Jamaica.
Col. <i>Tho. Handaside</i> , Governor	1704	
Ld. <i>Archibald Hamilton</i>	1711	
A Hurricane, <i>August</i> 28th	1712	
<i>Peter Haywood</i> , Governor	1716	
Sir <i>Nicholas Laws</i>	1718	
A Hurricane <i>August</i> 28th	1722	
D. of <i>Portland</i> , Governor	1722	

The *Pelican* is a great Curiosity among their Birds, as the *Alligator* in their watry Tribe; it is a common Water-Fowl, that is all day picking up his Living at Sea, and roosts at Night on high Rocks and Clifts, sitting with his Head to the Wind; his Body when skinned, is as large as an ordinary Goose, the Wings will extend to 7 or 8 feet, a short Tail, the Bill 14 Inches long, very hard, and increasing broader towards the End, where it crooks like a Parrot's; their Necks are a foot and half, with a bay-colour'd Hair instead of Feathers on the back side of them, and from about half way there are membranous Bags or Pouches, which stretch thence to the Extremities of their under Bills, capable, when separated, of holding a couple of Pounds of Tobacco: in these they reserve their Prey when gorged with eating, and in these they are said to transport their young ones, when Danger or Instinct prompts them to change Places. They appear slow and heavy Birds flying, but have a piercing Sight

to

Jamaica. to discern their Prey (the little fishy Fry below) from a considerable Height in Air, whence they fall like a Stone, and catch, or dive after them.

We killed three or four, and in opening their Bodies, met the same Observations, *viz.*

1. They had double Ventricles, that together reached the length of their Bodies; to the Bottom of which, were connected the Small-Guts, about twice as thick as a Goose-quill.

2. In the first Ventricle or Craw, the Fish they had swallowed (70, 80, or 100) the Bigness of smaller Sprats, lay whole and unaltered.

3. In the lower Ventricle, those little Fish changing to a paler Colour, were nigh the *Fund* of it mashed and macerated, and (what was principally meant by reciting any Observations) here also the Mass or Pulp *had an intimate Mixture of numbers of slender, lively Worms in it*; which to me, was a Matter of Speculation, for finding no such Insects in the small Fish above, which I suspected at first might have been their Prey, I concluded it here to be the common Accident of Concoction, a certain Consequence of Heat and Putrefaction, which are conquered by farther Digestion, and pass into insensibility again; for the Small-guts, after a little Distance from the Stomach, had none, or rather

ther made part of a yellow, chylous Sub-Jamaica. stance.

Quære? whether other, or all Creatures have not such a Principle of Concoction, more or less discernible in some, than others, there; tho' imperceptible, and differently shaped and coloured, as is the Nature of the Food swallowed, and the Strength and Heat of the Animal swallowing. *Vercellonius* supposes the *Thyroides Gland* in Man, to be a little *Nidus* of verminous Eggs, generated there, and transmitted through subtle Ducts to the *Oesophagus* and Stomach, to impart a vital Character to the Chyle.

I should have proceeded here to some other natural Curiosities, but omit it, as being already more accurately done by Sir *Hans Sloan*, in 2 Vol. 4to.

The *Weymouth* and *Swallow* having now fixed their Jury-masts, and finished their Repairs, weighed from *Port-Royal* on *New-year's Day*, anchoring out at the *Kays*, where we stayed till the 7th of *February*, and then left the Island.

There are two Passages used for returning hence to *Europe*; heavy Sailers, and Fleets, use the Gulph of *Florida*, because assisted by a constant Current to the Northward, (already spoke to;) lighter, and well-manned Ships, that called the *Windward Passage*: *First*, as the safest and shortest Navigation, all the Difficulty being, plying to the East End
of

Jamaica.

of *Jamaica*; for which, *Secondly*, there succeeds generally a Windward Current, on new or full Moons; or a Course of fiery Breezes, bringing in a fuller Sea, and therefore the Reflux more perceptible. *Thirdly*, keeping nigh shore, the Land-breezes sometimes favour the Design.

We chose this way in our Return home, and with half Masts worked to Windward of *Port Morant*, in six or seven Days, a Distance of 12 Leagues, where the Passage is in a manner gained, because the *Lee* of *Hispaniola* makes a smooth Water, and deflects the *Trade-Wind* often, in Flaws to advantage. We indeed met Calms for three or four Days, but on the 17th, got sight of the little Island *Navasia*, which the *Jamaicans* use in Boats, to kill *Guanas*, an amphibious Creature that breed in abundance at the Roots of old Trees, some of them 3 foot long, a *Lizard* Shape, with sharp, black, and green Scales; the Flesh firm, white, and as Sailors say, makes good Broth.

The same Evening we anchored in *Donna Maria* Bay, at the West End of *Hispaniola*, the usual Stop, especially of the King's Ships in those Parts, for Wood and Water: We filled our Cask at a Valley, a Mile Southward of the two *brown Clifts*, very good Water, but on some Winds the Sea gets over the Bar. There are two other Places used, nigher those *Clifts*, and not so easily overflown.

Here

Here we bought some jerked Hog's Flesh from ^{Jamaica.} two or three *French* Hunters, belonging to *Petit Guavas*.

At leaving the Bay, a strong S W. Wind soon set us between the Capes *St. Nicholas* and *Maize*; when we came into small Winds, and a Current in our favour, the old *Bahama Strait*, and Islands dispers'd here, showing *this* wherever they contract the Waters, and lessens again, as we open to a larger Sea.

The 26th, nigh the Island of *Heneago*, recovered the true *Trade-Wind*, E. half N. The 28th, saw the Rocks called *Hogstys* by our Observations in $21^{\circ} 38'$ something farther to the Northward than they are set down in the Charts. At Noon, came round *Acclin's Kays* (pretty high out of the Water) and before Night, made *Crooked* or *Well-Island*. The last, and from which we took our Departure, was *Watlin's Kay*, 24° N. where we may farther remark, that the *Trade-Wind* continued with us to the Latitude of 32° but faint and weak, from 27° ; caused, I presume, from the Contest between the Variable and that, as I have already guessed the N E. and S E. *Trade* does in other Places.

From 26 to 37° Degrees of Latitude, (as far N. as *Virginia*) we found every Day large Quantities of what they call *Gulph-weed*, floating about the Ship, and lessening in proportion to the Distance; it is so called, from a Conviction of its being
thrown

Jamaica. thrown from the Shoals of *Florida*; and by being found three or four hundred Leagues N E. a-trend with the Continent, argues I think, a Continuance (tho' insensible) of some Current, or that it is longer, or more to the Northward than Southward in those Latitudes; and contrarily, in higher North Latitudes the Seas nigh the Continent have a Tendency Southward, demonstrated in those Islands of Ice, that drive all Summer from the North West, along the Coast of *Newfoundland*, even as far as *New-England*.

To the Northward of *Bermudas*, the Winds grew variable, and as we advanced, stronger; A never-failing Gale (N W. to S W.) blowing from the *American* Coast at this Length and onward, to 60°° of Latitude, and tho' not invariable like the *Trade*, yet a Constancy of $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{5}$ of the year, shews it on the same Principle with them; Ours was a very hard Gale at N W. which put us to a reefed Fore-sail for a Fortnight, so great a Sea following, that we could not help dipping it up by Tuns sometimes at our Stern. We arrived in *England*, April, 1723.

F I N I S.



A N

ABSTRACT

Of the foregoing

VOYAGE.

A. Anchored, or arrived at.

W. Weighed, or went from.

W. FROM Spithead, about the same 172 $\frac{0}{7}$
time with Commadore *Mat-*
thews, who commanded a Squadron of *Feb. 5th.*
4 Sail to *India*, on the like Service; *the*
Suppression of Pyrates.

A. At Madeira. In our Approach to the *Mar. 10.*
Island (for 30 or 40 Leagues) met abun-
dance of Sea-weed floating; here also
we overtook Commadore *Matthews*;
two of his Squadron by hard Gales of
Wind,

Wind, had damaged their Masts, and left him at Sea.

Mar. 18. *W. Thence*; and presently at Sea, found the *Trade-Wind* fresh.

27. We made the Cape *De Verd* Islands, and on the 30th, parted with the *Weymouth*, bound in with the Governor and Factors for *Gambia* River. Meeting after this, Calms, or small Breezes, (common near this Land) we took up several *Turtle*, who love sleeping on a smooth Surface.

1721.

April 7. *A.* At *Sierraleon*, the next noted River and Factory from *Gambia*; and on the 18th, visited *Seignior Joseph*, a generous and good-natur'd christian *Negro*, who had lately removed his People some Miles up the River. With his old Buildings wooded our Ship.

28. *W. Sierraleon.* The Winds 2 or 3 Points within the Land, always favourable for sailing to the Westward, which is therefore called *down the Coast*.

May 10. *A.* Off the Mouth of *Sesthos* River; a Bar before it, but commodious enough for watering. Here may be purchased considerable Quantities of Rice; the River abounds with Fish; and you are tolerably supplied with Goats and Fowls, or you imagine so from the great Scarcity that appears at most other Places, from *Sierraleon* to *Whydah*.

W.

W. Thence, and sailed several Days along the Coast, low like *Holland*, anchoring now and then. The 30th, came before *Bassam* or *Bassau*. The 31st, before *Affinee*, passing by that unfathomable Place called the *Bottomless Pit**; the Natives every where appearing shy of

1721
May 18.

* At this Place I would observe, in relation to heaving the Lead, that there is a *Nisus* in Bodies of Water from below upwards, which makes 'em to sink neither so fast, nor so direct, at any considerable Depth, as near the Surface; all at 200 Fathom or less, being bottomless; *i. e.* unfathomable.

This *Nisus*, or resisting Motion to the Descent of Bodies, is not only perceptible in the Lead, but more sensibly declares itself, *first*, in that black or green Skim, seen sometimes on the Surface (even smelling) after long Calms, the Product of some intestine Motion.

2. That *Divers*, or any floating Bodies, emerge with greater Force than they sunk.

3. Mr. *Boyle's* 20th Experiment observes, that a glass Bubble let open into the Receiver, on the Exsuction of the Air, *the Water in it manifestly rises a greater Height*; consequently the Expansion and Rarefaction of the Air by the Heat of the Sun, makes room for this *Spring* in the Water, to exert itself; and therefore the Tides themselves would more difficultly yield to the distant Attractions of the Sun and Moon (I should think) without adding to that Theory this conjoined Force, or natural Propensity of the Sea, to swell before.

In respect to sinking the Lead, also may be added, a greater Coldness, and a greater Saltness of the Sea, in proportion to the Depths; (both which are very probable,) and will create a greater Buoyancy, or Resistance to sinking, as will likewise the drawing out a greater Quantity of Line, (less apt to emerge.) So that although falling Bodies in Air, have their Velocities encreased, the nearer they approach the Earth, yet contrarily in Water, it diminishes with the Descent.

1721

Correspondence, until we came upon the Gold Coast.

June 2.

A. Cape Appollonia, the Land-grows higher here, and the Natives more alert and prompt at Trade.

6. *A. Axim*, the first *European* Factory, belonging to the *Dutch*.

7. *A Cape Tres Puntas*; the Fort formerly was the *Brandenburghers*, who deserting it, it's now in the possession of a *Negro*, called *John Conny*. Ships constantly stop here to water, as the most convenient Place for taking in any large Quantity, and pay, each Ship, an Ounce of Gold for the Privilege.

14. *W. Thence*, and anchored the 15th at *Dixcove*, an *English* Factory. This, *Succonda*, *Anamaboo*, and others, tho' called Factories, are the Residence only of two or three People from the principal one at *Cape Corso*) who have Commission over and above their Salary, for what Trade they transact.

16. *W. Dixcove*, and anchored next Day before *Cape Corso Castle*, our *African* Company's chief Fort; the Residence of their Governor, stiled *Director General*; two Merchants, a Secretary, Chaplain, Surgeon, Factors, Writers, Artificers, and a Company of Soldiers; with Buildings and Conveniencies inside, for themselves or Slaves.

A.

A. Anamaboo (just below it) a noted Place of stopping, for all our Windward trading Ships, to compleat their Slave Cargoes. 1721
June 26.

A. and W. Montford; the 30th, *Barkee*, and then *Shallo*. Through the whole from *Sierraleon*, it may be observed, that Wood, Candles, or any other Ships Necessaries are hard to get; the former, not from a Want in the Country (it being over-run) but an impassable Beach, where there is no navigable River, and the Diffidence of the *Negroes*, where it might be best supplied; and the other, because Merchant-Ships do not expect a Trade of that sort, and therefore unprovided. 28.

A. Whydah. The whole Coast runs in a strait Line (without Gulphs or Bays) is thick set with Trees, a Tendency of the Sea with the Wind, and every where a very rough and turbulent Beach. July 4.

W. Whydah, and arrived the 28th at the Island of *Princes*, belonging to the *Portuguese*. In our Approach, saw every Day abundance of Whale, Thresher, and Petrel.—Cleaned our Ships, heaving down by one another, but became exceeding sickly by the Fatigue, each burying three and four Men a Day, for six Weeks together. 20.

- 1721
 Sep. 20. *W. Princes*, both having purchased their Anchors with difficulty.
28. *A. St. Thomas's*, another *Portuguese* Island (the principal of three) on this Coast, abounding with fresh Provisions, especially Hogs and Fowls, exchanged like other Places of Poverty, at very easy Rates.
- Oct. 5. *W. Hence*, and stretched with our Star-board Tacks to the Westward, designing to reach as far to Windward as possible, that if any Pyrates should be on the Coast, we might have them under our Lee. The 20th we fell in with *Cape Apollonia*, went from thence the 23d, and anchored at *Axim*.
24. *W. Axim*, and came to *Cape 3 Points*, where neglecting to pay *John Conny* his Duties for Water, he *panyarr'd* some of our Men, till satisfied.
30. Left *Cape 3 Points*, and arrived next Day in *Cape Corso* Road again; it being every where confirmed to us in this Return down, that the Pyrates in *August* last (the time we were at *Princes*) had committed great Ravages upon the Merchant Ships.
- Nov. 10. *W. Cape Corso* Road, leaving the *Weymouth*, (now too disabled to weigh her Anchor,) and plying to Windward, fell in with *Succonda* the 15th, repeating our Visits in a Month's Cruise, to *Dix-cove*,

cove, Acquedah, Cape 3 Points, Axim, Cape Apollonia, Assinee, Bassam, Faque a Faques, &c. our Purpose in it being to secure Trade, air a sickly Ship, be in the way of Intelligence, and impress Men from the Merchant-Ships. Many prevented this indeed, by escaping to us themselves from ill Treatment (they said) bad or short Diet; but then, as more again on the same Pretence took on with the Pyrates, it shews Caprice and Humour to be the principal Point that determines Seamen to this or that Service.

A. De Elmina, the *Dutch African* Company's principal Fort, of great Trade, there being seldom less than 5 or 6 Sail of *Dutch* Ships in the Road, often more. Jan. 6.

A. Cape Corso Road, and left it the 10th in pursuit of the Pyrates; the Governor here, having received two or three Expresses, that they had chased and taken a Ship nigh *Axim*, a Place we had just come from. 7.

A. Apong to Leeward, not following too fast lest we over-shot them, but after certain Intelligence that the Rogues had passed this Road (off at Sea) we followed. 11.

A. Accra, a considerable trading Place, (for Salt particularly) and where the 12.
R 3 *Dane,*

172 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dane, the *Dutch*, and *English*, have a Castle.

Jan 15.

A. *Whydah*, and learned that the Pyrates had plundered and ransomed 11 Sail of Ships, and left the Place two Days before, on the Report of our following them.

19.

W. Thence, and followed the Pursuit, coming before the Isle of *Princes* the 29th, and found the *Portuguese* Strangers to the News.

Feb. 1.

A. The Mouth of the River *Gabone*, a snug Harbor we thought, for their Reception, the Navigation being difficult; but finding by our Boats we had missed them, left it the 3d, and continued our Search to Cape *Lopez*.

Made the Cape, and soon after discovered the three Pyrate Ships at Anchor in that Bay. One of them upon the *Heel*, righted at sight of us, slipped her Cable and chased, bending some of her Sails as she came out, by which we judged the Rashness of our Enemy, who fell a Prize to us before Night.

10.

Recovered the Cape again, and found the Prize's Consorts (according to expectation) very easy in the Bay, and stayed so long that we doubted whether they would stir for us; but at length, as their Eyes cleared in our nearer Advance, all mad and frightened, they cut their Cable,
set

set their Sails, up went the black Flag, and down their Courage; they continued a running Fight, while only our chace Guns could play upon them, and struck presently when our Broadside reached, without the least Damage done to us.

A. Cape *Lopez Bay*, seizing there the third Pyrate Ship, that had been deserted for a better Escape or Defence in the other. Feb. 12.

W. Thence, having wooded and watered, bound with our Prizes and Prisoners to Cape *Corso*; the General, and chief Merchants there, being in the Commission, (brought out of *England* with us) for the Tryal of them. Stopped at *Princes*, from the 21st to the 24th. 18.

A. Cape *Corso* Road; the Pyrates in this Passage were very troublesome to us, from a Project or two they had formed for their Deliverance, and hoped by the Weakness of our Ship's Company, would have succeeded. Mar. 15.

W. Cape *Corso*, the General's Daughter of the Coast taking a Passage with us to *England*, a fair, flaxen-hair'd, young Lady, tho' born of a *Mulatto*. May 1.

I shall here observe at leaving the *Center*, that in respect to Trade, *Guinea* needs only this threefold Division, *viz.* the *Gold*, the *Ivory*, and the *Slave-Coast*;

1722

all to Windward of this, might be called the one, and all to Leeward the other ; not because either of these Parts of Trade would be entirely wanted in such respective Division, but each abounds more under that Denomination.

- May 3.* *A. Whydah*, and left it the 5th, arriving at Cape *Lopez* the 26th, where both Ships wooded, watered, and purchased Wax for making Candles, now exceeding scarce ; and is the most convenient Place for Ships of War, at leaving the Country.
- June 5.* *W. Cape Lopez*, and after a few Days at Sea, by foggy Weather lost Company with our Consort the *Swallow*.
- July 1.* Made Cape *Augustine* in *Brasil*, a *Portuguese* Colony, and anchored the 4th in *Pernambuca* Road, the next great Port of Trade in this Province, to *Bahia*.
12. *W. Brasil*, having found the *Trade-Winds* blow home, and increased in their Strength to this Continent, bringing a dangerous Swell into the Road.
- August 3.* *A. Barbados*, took in a Supply of Rum and Provisions, and left it the 9th.
23. *A. Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, where we found the *Swallow* had arrived, a Week before.

A *Hurricane** that drove the *Prize* ashore, | *Aug.* 28.
blew away all our Masts, with other
Damages that detained us here 6 Months
to repair.

W. Port-Royal, and anchored at the *Kays*. | *Jan.* 1.

W. The Kays, bound for *England*. | *Feb.* 7.

A. Donna Maria Bay in *Hispaniola* (the
Windward Passage) to water, &c. | 19.

W. Thence, and arrived at *Spithead*, *A-* | 22.
pril 8th, whence we were ordered to
Woolwich, and paid off *May* 11th, 1723.

* Depend much on the preceding Season, (hot and dry
Weather) apt to raise greater Plenty of elastick Vapours on the
Terra firma, and will explode themselves now here, now
there, as the greater Rarefaction of Air (more towards one
Island than another) may invite.

F I N I S.



ERRATA.

P.	line	
32	19	for to r. too.
67	22	for he r. they.
72	27	After r. Aft.
75	24	and will be paid not only &c.
115	4	Ch. x.
115	5	Ezion
125	16	r. some other Parts.

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Clio to Strephon, p. 79.

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